AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE QING DYNASTY'S POLICY TOWARDS THE PAI YAO

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Abstract of "An Anthropological Analysis of the Qing Dynasty's Policy toward the Pai Yao"

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This paper is concerned with the Qing Dynatsy's policy toward the Pai Yao, a subgroup of the Yao in Liannan Yao Autonomous County of Guangdong Province. The Pai Yao , settled in Liannan since the Song Dynasty, maintained their autonomy until the Qing Dynasty. The mode how of the Pai Yao were incorporated into the Qing regime is one of the themes of this study.

The Qing Dynasty's policy was basically a conflict management measure. The causes of the Pai Yao revolts and their conflicts with the Han Chinese and Han officials have been reviewed. The review shows that the Pai Yao were constantly under the extortion of the Han Chinese and the Han officials.

The ideological foundation of the policy has been studied. The two guiding principles--weide (威德) and neiwai (內外)--together with the ideas of impartiality and inclusiveness determined the general strategy of the policy: appeasement, the combination of extermination and pacification.

Four spheres of the policy have been investigated: military, education, administration and taxation. The

investigation reveals that the greatest achievement of the Qing Dynasty was the establishment of Yaozhang and Yaolian which was the extension of bureaucratic governance into the Pai Yao society. This study also shows that the Qing Dynasty was not eager to assimilate the Pai Yao with the Han Chinese. They aimed only to put the Pai Yao under the administrative control and incorporate them into the bureaucratic structure.

M. G. Smith's plural analysis has been employed to study the incorporation of the Pai Yao. The incorporation of the Han Chinese has been compared with the Pai Yao's. Compared with the Han Chinese, the Pai Yao had undergone differential incorporation in political sphere and segmental incorporation in social sphere. The combination of both modes of incorporation defines the Qing Dynasty as a Complex Plurality in accordance with Smith's concepts.

In short, the Qing Dynasty's policy was a principle of " balancing separateness with uniformity " which was a strategy of evolution rather than revolution in the Pai Yao affairs.

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QING REIGN PERIODS

Reign Name	Years of Rule
Shunzhi	1644-1661
Kangxi	1662-1722
Yongzheng	1723-1735
Qianlong	1736-1795
Jiaqing	1796-1820
Daoguang	1821-1850
Xianfeng	1851-1861
Tongzhi	1862-1874
Guangxu	1875-1908
Xuantong	1909-1911

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CHAPTER I

PREFACE

The first time I came across the story of Pan Hu, story regarding the origin of the Yao people, I wondered how many interpretations could be put forward to unveil the messages contained in the story. According to the legend, Pan Hu was a five-colored dog housed in the court of the proto-Chinese emperor Gao Xin (高辛) (2445-2435 B.C.). During the reign of the Emperor Gao Xin, China was always marauded by Quan Rong tribe (犬戎). In order to encourage volunteer to kill the chief of Quan rong, Emperor Gao Xin promised to marry one of his daughters to anyone who could complete the mission. Pan Hu succeeded in killing the chief and brought the head of the chief to Emperor Gao Xin. Emperor Gao Xin reluctantly filfulled his promise. Pan Hu then married the princess and settled down in some distant mountains with the princess. The princess born Pan Hu twelve children, six boys and six girls, who became the forefather of the Pai Yao (Lemoine 1982:196; Huang 1988). I agree with J. Lemoine (1982) that the story implies "a sort of pre-emptive right for the Chinese to exercise authority over this people", but I more agree that "by holding to this pseudo-history of P'an Hu, the Yao had something to invoke when bargaining with the Chinese Empire" (Ibid:196).

The other Yao document, the Yao Charter (過山榜

literally, a passport for migration) also mentions the same story. There are three points outlined by Lemoine that deserve special attention: first, Pan Hu is posthumously granted the title of King Pan; second, his descendants are exempted from all taxation and levies; and third, they are allowed the freedom to cultivate all mountains of the empire (Ibid:197).

The Charter, like the ancestry myth, is also a bargaining tool that can be used to deal with the Han Chinese. It is utilized to define the Yao people's relations with the Chinese Empire and the Han Chinese. To me, the essence of the myth is that after Pan Hu married the princess he took her to some distant mountains. I regard this as an action that keeps themselves at a distance from the emperor, the court and the empire . The myth and the Charter reiterate that the Yao people are living in mountains and practicing mountain cultivation, and they are "chartered" to do so. In other words, they treat themselves as mountain dwellers. In comparison with the Han Chinese, they therefore occupy a totally different ecological niche contrasting sharply with the Han Chinese who are lowland dwellers. It further implies that they, as mountain dwellers, have a subsistence system different from the subjects of the Chinese Empire.

The second theme implied in the Charter is that the Yao people are exempted from paying taxes and

levies. Supposing taxation is a symbol of relations, paying taxes thus reflects a subject-ruler relation. This relation is different from that of the lord-vassal which is expressed in terms of tribute. The Yao people are, on the one hand, exempted from paying taxes and on the other hand, have no need to pay tribute to the Chinese Empire. This implies their special relations with the Chinese Empire: they are neither subject nor vassal of the empire. In other words, they are independent and autonomous people. The title of King Pan, a political designation, further confirms their independency and autonomy.

These two themes, however, are contrary to the political and historical realities. As long as the Yao people came into contact with the Han Chinese, their independency and autonomy were encroached upon. In addition to Lemoine's idea (Ibid:196) that the myth shows "how one could be human without necessarily being Chinese", I would suggest that the myth together with the Charter also shows "how one could be human without necessarily being subjects of the Chinese Empire". The will expressed in the myth and the Charter, regrettably, always came into conflict with the will of the Chinese Empire whether it was in the control of the Han Chinese or non-Han people. The relations of the Yao people with the state are thus a very interesting problem.

The myth and the Yao Charter expressed clearly the Yao people's view of their relations with the state; I

will therefore explore how the Qing Dynasty managed their relations with one of the Yao people--the Pai Yao. In the present study, I will concentrate my study upon three aspects.

First, relations between the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese. Compared with some ethnic groups, the Pai Yao were not a group that would threaten the existence of the Qing dynasty. Most of the measures taken against the Pai Yao were actually implemented to settle the problems arousing the Pai Yao revolts. Therefore, the Qing Dynasty's policy toward the Pai Yao can be treated as a kind of "conflict management". According to C.H. Enloe (1978:344), conflict management involves two kinds of relationships: (1) inter-ethnic relations and (2) ethnic-state relations. Therefore, we shall first look into the causes of the conflicts and thereafter the relations between the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao.

Second, in studying the causes of conflicts, we may see how the Qing Dynasty managed to pacify the Pai Yao and settle relevant problems. Four spheres will be examined in order to understand the Qing Dynasty's policy: military, administration, education and taxation. Individual official's work will also be explored.

Third, after examining the measures taken by the Qing Dynasty, we may go into ethnic-state relations. I will examine the modes employed by the Qing Dynasty to

incorporate the Pai Yao through various measures and the resolution of conflicts. A "plural society approach", initiated by J.S. Furnivall and then elaborated by anthropologist M.G. Smith, will be employed in this study. I choose this approach because it emphasizes "ethnic factors, consciousness and interests as significant social elements in their own right." The plural society theorists acknowledge the independent salience of class structure, but they do question the "reducibility of class and ethnicity to each other" (Thompson 1983:127). A brief comparison between the modes of incorporation of the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao will be made in order to gain a more meaningful picture about the position of the Pai Yao in the Qing polity.

This paper is a result of library research. Due to some personal reasons, I cannot conduct field research among the Pai Yao during the writing of this paper. However, I do have made three short visits previously to the Pai Yao. These visits were sponsored by the Department of Anthropology, Chinese University of Hong Kong and under the guidance of Dr. Jiann Hsieh. My interest in the relations between the Han Chinese, the Pai Yao and the state is inspired by these short visits. Most data used in this study come from historical documentation such as local annals and official records. I also rely on some researchs and field reports conducted by Chinese scholars in various periods of

time.

I wish to apply anthropological concepts to analyse the Chinese historical documents in this study. China, with its long history, has accumulated abundant written records that deserve deep exploration. With the assistance of social science concepts, I believe new knowledge and understanding of ethnic relations in China can be obtained.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION: THE PAI YAO AND THEIR ECOLOGICAL SETTING

A. POPULATION AND LOCATION

The name "Yao" is derived from the word "moyao" (莫瑤), which means "exempt from corvee" (Editorial committee 1985:8). The Pai Yao, or Ba Pai Yao, are a subgroup of the Yao. Calling themselves Dzau Mien, they speak one of the three main Yao dialects, Mien, which belongs to the Yao branch in the Miao-Yao family of the Sino-Tibetan stock (Mao 1982:5-12).

"Pai Yao" is a name given by the Han Chinese because the Pai Yao were traditionally living in eight large villages(pais) (Lian 1988:143). Compared with the Guoshan Yao, a subgroup of Yao practicing constant migration from mountains to mountains and slash-and-burn cultivation, the Pai Yao have two features: (1) rice cultivation; (2) sedentary settlement in villages. The emergency of the Pai Yao can, therefore, be said as a result of interaction of the Han-Yao people (Ibid:145).

The Pai Yao are mainly distributed among the region nowadays known as Liannan Yao Autonomous County (Liannan yaozu zizhi xian), a mountainous area located in the northeast part of the Guangdong Province. It is generally agreed that the Pai Yao have settled down in Liannan since the Song Dynasty (962-1278) (Lian 1988:145; Hsieh 1989:221). The Liannan County is situated from 112°4′ to 112°24′ east longitudinally and

from 24°18′ to 24°57′ north latitudinal. The total area of Liannan County is about one thousand two hundred square kilometres (Editorial committee 1985:1). At the North-east of the County lies the Lian County. It borders on Jianghua Yao Autonomous County in Hunan Province to the North and Lianshan County to the West. It is also contiguous to Huaizhi County to the South and Yangshan County to the South-east (Ibid:1).

The Pai Yao were traditionally known to have eight large villages(pais) and twenty-four hamlets(chongs). However, the number of these villages and hamlets varied during the different periods of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Today, the Pai Yao live in the following mountainous regions in the County: Jinkeng(金坑), Daping(大坪), Xiangping(香坪), Penshi(盆石), Woshui(渦水), Sanpai(三排), Nangang(南崗), Jiuzhai(九寨), Baimang(白芒), and part of Zhainan(寨南), about 88% of the total area of the County. The Han Chinese live in the following plain regions: Sanjiang(三江), Zhaigang(寨崗), and part of Zhainan(寨南), about 12% of the total area of the County.

According to the 1982 Census of the Liannan Yao Autonomous County, the Yao had a population of 58,227 out of a total population of 127,646 in the County and most of them were Pai Yao (Editorial committee 1985:1-2). There are some historical documents mentioning the population of the Pai Yao since the Qing Dynasty. However, most of these records are incomplete but I

think we can still make some reasonable estimation from these records. I am of the opinion that the population of the Pai Yao since the Qing Dynasty was around the range of 25,000 to 50,000. In his book, Liannan bapai fengtu ji (lit., Notes on Customs of the Bapai in Liannan, Li Laizhang (1654-1722) mentioned that there were twenty large and small Yao villages(pais) in Lianshan County. These villages had 1,238 households and a population of 5,275. It is obvious that this figure was incomplete because it only included part of the Pai Yao population. Yao Jianzhi, who complied the Lianshan suiyaoting zhi (1837) (lit., Annals of the Yao-appeasing Office), mentioned that during the Daoguang Reign (1821-1850) the Pai Yao had 5,138 households and a population of 25,814.

By 1934, according to a census carried out by the Guangdong Administration Office(Guangdong minzheng ting, 廣東民政廳), there were eight large villages, 5 small villages and 177 hamlets in Liannan. The population was 79,831 and the number of households was 20,099 (Guangdong Administration Office 1934,II:241). However, the Annals of Lianshan County (1928) mentions that there were only 6,832 households and the population was 26,577 (Huang & Liu 1984:74-87). Another research carried out by the Nationality Affairs Committee of the Guangdong Province People's Government in 1950 shows that the Pai Yao in Liannan had only 25,000 (Li & Fang 1987:77).

Comparing with the Guangdong Administration

Office's figure with other figures obtained before or after it, the figure was almost three times of the other figures. It seems that mistake might have incurred in the census. Based on the several figures, I am of the opinion that the reasonable population of the Pai Yao may be around 25,000 to 50,000.

Table 1

The Population of the Pai Yao (1709-1950)

Year	Household	Population
1709	1,238	5,275
1837	5,138	25,814
1928	6,832	26,577
1934	20,099	79,831
1950	unknown	25,000

Although these figures were not obtained by precise census and is rather unreliable, but it did tell us about the population growth of the Pai Yao since the Qing Dynasty. According to Ping-ti Ho, under the favorable economic and political conditions in the Reigns of Kangxi (1662-1722) and Yongzheng (1723-1735), the Chinese population grew more than double within one century, from 1693 to around 1794 (Ho 1975:330). This growth rate, however, did not reflect in the figures of the Pai Yao population. The possible explanation, except the incomplete calculation, are that the ecological constraints and the expansion of the Han Chinese had

limited the population growth of the Pai Yao. The ecological constraint of the Pai Yao can be seen from a figure provided by Yao Jianzhi (姚柬之) in Liannan region in 1837:

Table 2

The Proportion of Paddy Field between the Yao and the Han Chinese

	Total (mu)	Pop.	mu/per capita
Han Chinese	41,426	33,235	1.25
Yao	3,695	25,814	0.14

(Source: Yao 1974)

It is obvious that a Han Chinese might have owned a piece of paddy field eight times larger than a Yao. The scarcity of land together with poor quality of the land had limited the population growth of the Yao and brought the Yao and the Han Chinese into the competition for land.

B. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE

The County is hilly and the relief is steep. There are 114 mountains more than one thousand metres above sea level in height. These mountains belong to the Dalong(大龍), Xiaolong(小龍), Shemei(麝美), Denlong(灯笼) and Fugang(富崗) mountain ranges, which are the southern

extensions of the Nanling(南嶺) mountain range. Dawu mountain(大霧山), 1683 metres above sea level, is the highest mountain in the County.

Due to the subjective description and lack of precise measurement, we know little about the physical conditions of the area where the Pai Yao settled down during the Qing Dynasty. Some brief descriptions can be seen in the Liannan bapai fengtu ji (literally, Notes on the Custom of the Bapai in Liannan). For instance, the book describes that the lands of the Huoshaopai (火燒排) were rather flat and the water supply was abundant. The area also had fertile fields. It also mentions that around the Majianpai (馬鬲排) were high mountains. There were two pools on the top of a mountain which was located behind the Majianpai. The pools were deep and wide, and did not dry up whether in summer or in winter. The land was suitable for paddy and rather fertile. As to the Junliaopai (軍寮排), it was mentioned that the village was located in the highest altitude among the eight main villages. The houses in Junliaupai were very close to each other. There were plenty of firs but lack of paddy fields (Li & Fang 1987:179-277).

Weather in the County belongs to the sub-tropical monsoon wind climate. Weather of the four seasons is distinguished: it is warm in spring, hot in summer, cool in autumn and cold in winter. The average annual temperature is 19.5°C whereas the highest temperature is

38.8°C and the lowest is -4.8°C. July and August have the highest average monthly temperature of around 28°C to 28.5°C. The temperature difference between mountain and plain is 2°C to 4°C. The daily difference is 6°C to 12°C (Editorial committee 1985:2).

Average annual rainfall of the County is 1,620.90 mm. The rainy period is between March and August. In April, May and June, the total rainfall of these months constitute half of the annual (Ibid).

C. SETTLEMENT PATTERN

There are few historical documents mentioning the settlement pattern of the Pai Yao. It is generally known that the Pai Yao are mountain dwellers and their villages are built in high mountains. According to the research carried out by the Nationality Affairs Committee of the Guangdong Province People's Government in 1950 (Li & Fang 1987:76-156), the location of the eight main villages of the Pai Yao in terms of altitude is in Table 3.

As it is difficult to find a flat land in mountainous area, the Pai Yao usually build their house along the hillside or in the top of hill. A cross-section and an aerial view of their settlement pattern are shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

Table 3

The Altitude of the Pai Yao Villages

Village	Altitude above sea level(metre)
Dazhangpai (大掌排)	800
Huoshaopai (火烧排)	700
Libadong (里八岗)	700
Majianpai (马鉴排)	750
Junliaopai (军寮排)	800
Youlingpai (油岭排)	500
Nanlingpai (南岭排)	500
Nangangpai (南岗排)	600
Hengkengpai (横坑排)	500

(Source: Li & Fang 1987:79)

Figure 1

The cross-section of the Pai Yao settlement pattern

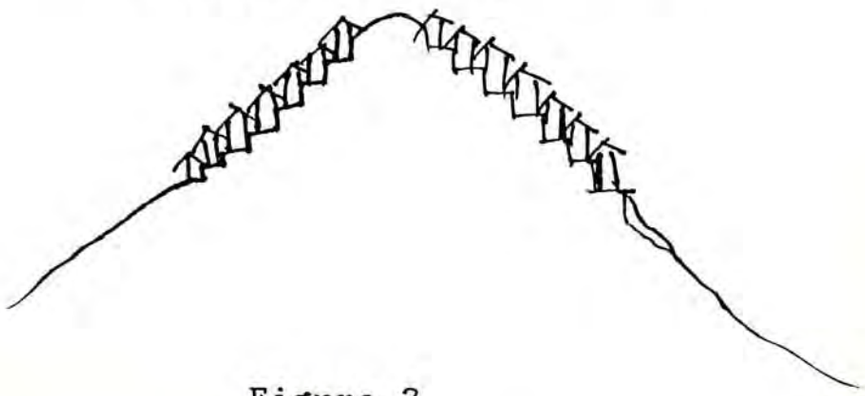
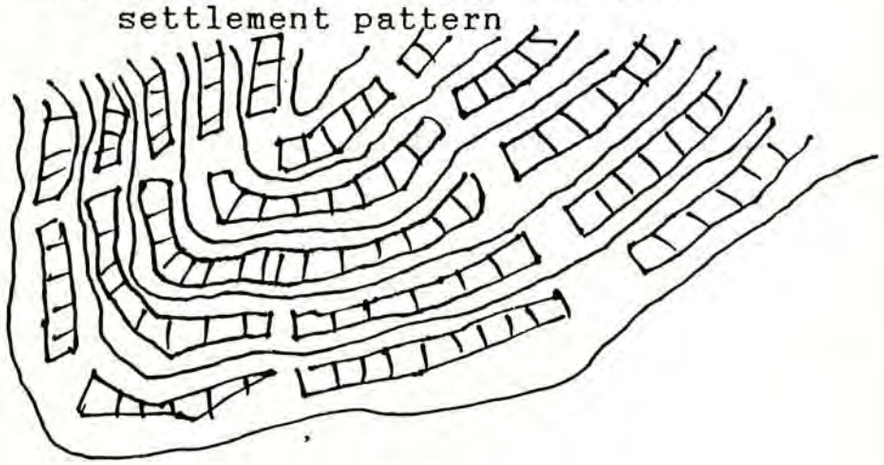


Figure 2

The aerial view of the Pai Yao settlement pattern



The houses of the Pai Yao are built along the contour line of the mountain and very close to each other. This kind of pattern is an adaptation to the physical environment. The advantage of this pattern may be that the villagers could thus highly concentrate in the same location and that provide greater defensive function. Moreover, the concentration of houses also make the water channel easier to be built. The main defect of this pattern is that it is easy to be destroyed by fire. Because of the closeness and the construction materials, the enemy of the Pai Yao can easily destroy their villages by setting fire. For example, the name of Huoshaopai, which means "fire burnt", was derived from the past events that it had been burnt down by the Qing army. In the past, the villages of the Pai Yao ranged from large village (dapai,大排), small village (xiaopai,小排) to hamlet (chong, 冲). The large village might have 500 to 600 households while the small hamlet might only have two or more households.

The settlement pattern of the Pai Yao also reflect the coherence of their lineage (fang,房). In the past, there was a residential unit under the level of village known as long (literally,row or line,龍). The organization of long was based on the principles of locality and consanguinity. A long consisted of member of the same patrilineal clan or lineage who lived next

door to each other or concentrated on the same location. For instance, in Nangangpai (南崗排) there were three longs. The Da Tang long (literally, the long of the major Tang surname had nine lineages. The long of the Deng surname also had nine lineages. These two longs were based on their consanguineous relations and locality. There was another long which consisted three surnames: Pan (鄧), Fang (房) and Xiao Tang (the minor branch of the Tang surname, 房). This long was set up simply because of locality. Another example indicating the combination of consanguinity and locality can be seen in the settlement pattern of the Huoshaopai (火烧排). There were three surnames, Fang, Shen and Tang in Huoshaopai (So 1989:75-78):

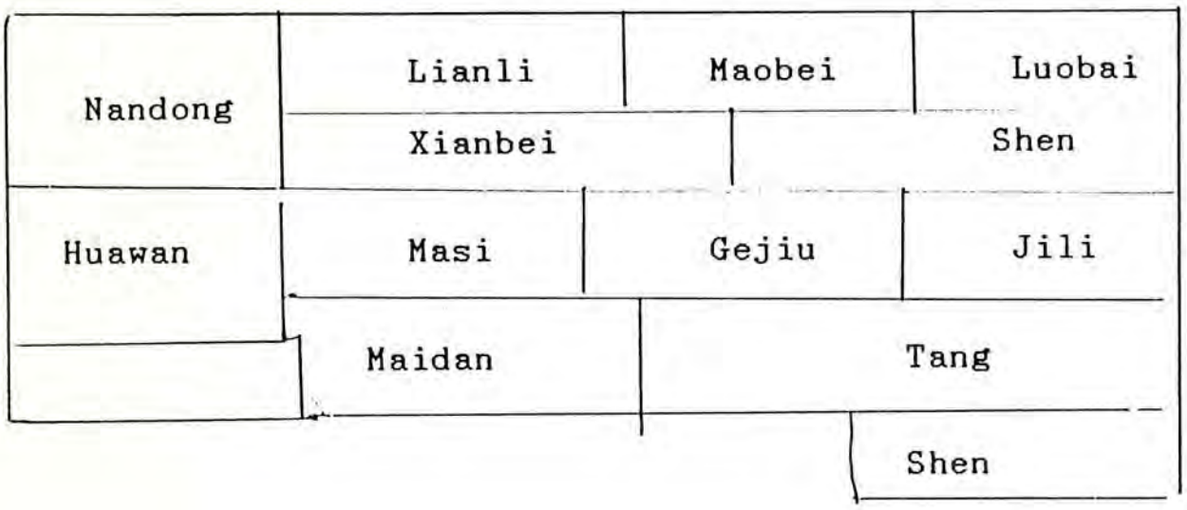
Figure 3.

The Lineages of the Three Surnames in Huoshaopai

(Source So 1989:75)

Figure 4.

The settlement pattern of the lineages in Huoshaopai



(Source: So 1989:77)

D. SUBSISTENCE PATTERN

The productive activities of the Pai Yao can be classified into three types: agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry.

Agriculture is the main economic production of the Pai Yao. They grow paddy rice in the wet fields, and plant minor crops on the dry land. The minor crops include sweet potato, corn, taro, yellow bean and peanut (So 1989:117; Li & Fang 1987:88-90). Cattle, pig, poultry and fish raising are the major items of animal husbandry. Most of these animals are fed on the Pai Yao's own agricultural products. For example, straw is used for the cattle; sweet potato, taro, chaff and vegetables are given to the pig (So 1989:126). Products of forestry include fir, pine, tea, bamboo and tung oil

(Li & Fang 1987:90).

Today, the Yao regions in Liannan County can be classified into three zones: forestry zone, mixed agricultural-forestry zone and mountain-cultivation zone.

Jinkeng(金坑), Woshui(涡水) are within the forestry zone. Most of the Pai Yao living in this area reside in high mountains. Their villages are dispersed from each other due to the steepness of the mountains. In Jinkeng, 92% of the area is forest (Editorial committee 1985:35). The suitable climate and soil conditions for the growth of fir, and the availability of rivers for timber transportation have made these regions to develop forestry successfully, In Jinkeng, for instance, the average forestry income per capita in 1987 was 73% of its total production value and made the income of this region the highest in the County (So 1989:24).

The regions within the mixed agricultural-forestry zone include Daping(大坪), Xiangping(香坪), Penshi(盘石), Jiuzhai(九寨) and Huanglian(黄连), Shangdong(上洞) and Tanglikeng(塘裏坑) of the Baimang(白芒). Their common characteristic is that the villages rest on the platforms of the hillsides which are situated at the upper part of the mountains. The Pai Yao cultivate forest in the upland and do their farming at the foot of the mountains (Editorial Committee 1985:35). To the Pai Yao in these regions, forestry, agriculture and even

animal husbandry are equally important. Paddy is planted in hill terraces and irrigated fields in the valley basins. Sweet potato, taro, corn, peanut, and beans are cultivated on dry land and fir is growth in the mountain (So 1987:26).

Sanpai(三排), Nangang(南岗), Jiuzhai(九寨) and Baimang (白芒),, Zhongxigang(中心岗), Sanzhou(三洲) of the Baimang Region are located in the limestone terrain where mountain-cultivation is practiced. The houses in there are highly concentrated that almost a village is equivalent to an administrative unit known as xiang. Lack of water resource and the poor productivity of the soil have made few crops can be grown there. Dry land cultivation occupies an important position in this zone (Editorial committee 1985:4). In these areas, nearly all food produced is for subsistence need and even is not enough to meet the need. These areas are too poor to pay tax to the County and have to receive subsides from the County (So 1989:27).

Comparing with the Pai Yao in the county, the Han Chinese occupy the most fertile areas. This agricultural zone can be found in Sanjiang(三江), Zhainan(寨南) and Shanlin(山林). In these areas, due to the fertile soil, flat land and natural irrigation, intensive agriculture is highly developed. Double crop paddy is the major grain cultivated. Peanut, sweet potato and corn are also grown (So 1989:22).

This ethnic division of ecological niche between

the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao is rather consistent with the record of historical document. The Annals of Lianshan Yao-appeasing Office (1974) mentions that in Lianshan County lands were classified into four types: field, summer land, autumn land and pool. Field was for paddy cultivation. Autumn land was the land that could have two harvest per year while the summer land could only have one harvest. The Yao only had limited fields and summer lands. They did not own any pool or autumn land. This ethnic division in the owning of land is a result of the Han expansion. Due to the expansion of the Han Chinese, the Pai Yao were forced to move into the upper part of mountains and formed a special kind of village (pai) in order to defend against the attack from outside. This is what H. J. Wiens (1952) called "vertical movement". This movement refers to the situation that the tribal people, under the rapid advance of the Han Chinese, were forced to move into "the more unfavorable environments of the high mountain lands mostly unsuitable for rice cultivation and undesired by the Han-Chinese agriculturalists" (Ibid:117). The poor productivity of the land had limited the growth of Pai Yao's population because the land could not produce sufficient food to support a large population.

E. MIGRATING HISTORY

Some documents, such as their religious books and the Yao Charter, are available from the Pai Yao themselves on the migrating history of the eight villages. Many geographical names are mentioned in Pai Yao's religious books and the Yao Charter. Analyzing these names and legends and other myths transmitted verbally, we learn that the Pai Yao are said to have come from two places: Hunan and Guangxi.

1. Coming from Hunan

Most of the legends recorded mention that the Pai Yao came from Daozhou(道州) in Hunan Province.

The story collected by Chee-boon Lee in 1939 regarding the Tang(唐) clan of the Youlingpai(油岭排) reveals that the Tang came from Daozhou(Lee 1939:359):

> The Yao people all agreed that the first Tong [Tang] who came to Yau Ling[Youling] was a man from To Chou [Daozhou] in Hunan Province; he was Tong Sei Kung, now made one of the chief god in the temple. In To Chou [Daozhou] there had been a dry year, and a Tong [Tang] killed somebody. The relatives of the victim came and deprived the Tong [Tang] of his property and drove him out. He trekked to the region somewhere near the lower course of the river running from Linchow [Linzhou] in Yeung Shan [Yangshan] and thereabouts. He managed to live

from hand to mouth, and married, and got three sons. The eldest and the youngest went back to Hunan. The second son was Tong Sei Kung, and he came to Linchow [Lianzhou] and earned his living by selling vegetables. Then he resorted to keeping fish. Business did not flourish, and he decided to come to Sam Kong[Sanjiang] to grow vegetables. It was a failure again but while he was there, he noticed the fertile mountains of Yau Ling [Youling], and thereupon he decided to go there to try his luck. Prior to his arrival, several surnames had already settled here (Lee 1939:359).

As to the Nangangpai (南崗排) (traditionally known as Hangxiangpai,行祥排), their story also says that their ancestors came from Daozhou. According to information collected by Li Fong (李鳳) and Se Tuxin (刁徒新) (Editorial committee 1987:4) in between October 1954 to April 1957, the Da Tang is said to have originally lived in Daozhou. They moved to Chenzhou(辰州) and then to Guangxi where they settled for a period of time. From there they moved to Tumaping(土馬坪), Sanjiang, Guoshuihe(鍋排), Changtang(長塘) and Xinzhai(新寨) of Lian County in Guangdong. Finally they moved to Nangang where they have settled for 600 years and about 18 generations. Legend provided by Deng surname shows that their ancestors moved from Daozhou to Nanyang(南陽) and then to Huguang(湖廣), Guangxi, and

Lianzhou where they first settled in Jiupo(九坡) and then moved to Nangang later on(Ibid:4). The Fang clan also says that their ancestors came to Nangang through Daozhou but the date of arriving Guangdong was unknown. Before they settled down in Nangang they had lived at Dongbaotang(東保塘), Hengkengdong(橫坑東). It is said they have been in Nangang for eighteen to nineteen generations (Ibid:5).

In Neitian(內田), most of the Pai Yao came from Libadong(里八峒). The story that their ancestors came from Hunan also prevails. For example, the Deng's ancestors came from Jianghua(江華) in Hunan Province. After they arrived at Liannan, they stayed in Libadong for a long time. They moved to their present location after the decline of Libadong (Editorial committee 1987:144).

The legend regarding the place of origin prevailing in Dazhangpai(大掌排) is similar to the above-mentioned legends although the details are different. They say that during the Ming Dyansty(1368-1644) the Yao were living in Daozhou together with the Han Chinese. They got on well with each other. There was a serious drought in an unknown year. In order to soothe the calamity, both the Yao and the Han Chinese carried out a donation campaign for the construction of an irrigation system. During the course construction, the Yao and the Han Chinese conflicted with each other when they were drinking wine. Both sides suffered casualties. The Han Chinese reported the case to local office and the

official sent soldiers to extort money from the Yao people. The Yao were killed because they did not have money to pay the soldiers. It is said almost all the Yao were killed except twelve people. These twelve people happened to be the twelve surnames of the Pai Yao. They ran to Sanjiang of Lianzhou in Guangdong. They could not settle down in Sanjiang even though they had arrived there. They moved along Guojuhe(锅锯河)(near Sanjiang) to Huanggeng(黄埂) and divided into eight villages and ten surnames. After that they lived in the mountains(Editorial committee 1987:239).

According to Liao Jiongran(廖炯然)'s research carried out in 1943 (Ibid), the Pai Yao in Dazhangpai alleged that the ancestors of Tang and Deng came from Daozhou in Hunan (Ibid:12).

Another version that supports the allegation that the Pai Yao came from Hunan is provided by a person who claimed to a descendant of Liao Yong(廖颙. The legend is recorded by Chee-boon Lee (1939) as follows:

> The ancestor of the tax collector we interviewed was Liu Yung [Liao Yong], who lived in the twelfth century. He resigned from governmental service in Hunan Province and brought back eight Yao males to carry his sedan chair. He came to settle in Hoh Chuen [He Cun]. To each of the Yao servants he gave a piece of land so that they might not idle.

> The Yao servants found that the land was very fertile,and from time to time, some of them went back to Hunan and brought more Yaos to settle in the vicinity to Linchow [Linzhou] (Lee 1939:358).

This record is , however, different from some legends provided by the Yao and documents complied by the Han Chinese.

2. Coming from Guangxi

According to Liao Jiongran's report (Editorial committee 1987;12), it is known that the Pai Yao in Youling and Sanpai were brought back by an officer Liao(廖) from Guangxi. The Pai Yao settled down in Youling and due to the growth of the population they dispersed into other villages. He also recorded that the Pai Yao in Shangdong(上洞) and Baimang(白芒) came from Guangxi.

A legend collected by the Nationality Affairs Committee of the Guangdong Province People's Government (Li & Fang 1987:83) from the Han Chinese in Sanjiang mentions that the place of origin of the Yao people was in Guangxi. It is said during the Shaoxing Reign(1136-1161)(紹興) of the Song Dynasty(960-1279), a Lianzhou native surnamed Liao was serving in Guangxi. When he resigned he brought back more than ten Yao servants with him. He sent them into the mountainous regions near Sanjiang of the Lian County for cultivation. Thereafter the Yao population increased and they developed the Pai

Yao villages. By the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the population increased from one village to eight villages.

It is interesting to see that the records of the Han Chinese are rather consistent about the coming of the Pai Yao. Annals of Lianshan Yao-appeasing Office, Annals of Lian County and the Annals of Lianshan County all mention that the Yao were brought back by Liao Yong from Guangxi.

The Annals of Lian County (Huang & Liu 1984:87) says that during the Shaoxing Reign(1131-1161) of the Song dynasty, a Lian County native was serving in Guangxi. He brought back more than ten Yao servants and maidens to Lian County when he returned to his native place. He sent the Yao servants to cultivate among the valleys.

The Annals of Lianshan County (Ibid:73) mentions that there was no trace of Yao in Lianshan in the ancient time. During the Chunxi Reign(1174-1189)(淳熙) of the Song Dynasty, Liao Yong, a Lianshan native, was serving in Guangxi as a provincial judge (tixin,提刑). He returned with more than ten Yao servants who later scattered and settled among the Youling and Hengkeng.

The Annals of Lianshan Yao-appeasing Office (Ibid:87) has a description similar to that of the Annals of Lianshan County whereas the only difference is about the period of service. The period of service described by the Annals of Yao-appeasing Office is in

the Shaoxing Reign.

3. Discussion

There are several points deserve discussion.

As to the migrating routes of the Pai Yao, it is difficult to decide the exact route due to the incomplete records. However, based on the above-mentioned legends I will suggest that there may be a possibility that can conciliate the two different routes. According to the legend collected in Nangang, the Da Tang and Deng had passed through Guangxi before they arrived Guangdong. This may provide us with a clue: is it possible that the Yao people left Hunan, stayed in Guangxi first and from there they reached Guangdong? May be the lapse of time had confused the memory and the place of origin was then wrongly stated as Guangxi. This suggestion is rather close to the assumption put forward by Jiang Yingliang (江應梁) (1986). He assumes that "the increase of the Yao people in Guangdong should begin in the Northern Song dynasty [960-1127]. The route they moved into Guangdong was starting from Hunan, first into Guangxi and then divided into two branches. One of them moved from Guangxi into the western part of Guangdong, the other moved from Guangxi or moved directly from Hunan and climbed over the Wuling(literally, the Five Mountains) and reached the northern part of Guangdong" (Jiang 1986:24).

Of course, it is highly likely that the Pai Yao

had taken several routes to come into the Lianzhou. For example, Jiann Hsieh, in his study of a Yao religious book(1989), notes that several geographical names such as Meishan(梅山), Shaoyang(紹陽), Daozhou(道州), Jianghua(江華) and Lianzhou are often mentioned. He concludes that (1989:221):

> [The repeated mention of these geographical names] could be regarded as an itinerary by which the Pai Yao had passed through those places along the migrating route, i.e., Mei-shan, and Shao-zhou on the bank of Zi River and, then, Dao-zhou and Jiang-hua on the bank of Xiang River. Finally they were settled in Lian-nan, which was administratively a small part of Lian-zhou (Hsieh 1989:221).

It seems that most scholars accept the view that the Pai Yao came from Hunan. For example, An Introduction to the Liannan Yao Autonomous County says, "both Li Tiaoyuan(李調元)'s Nanyue Biji(literally, Notes on the South Guangdong,南粵筆記) and Gu Yanwu(顧炎武)'s Tianxia Junguo Libing Shu(天下郡國利病書) hold the opinion that the Guangdong Yao came from Hunan. This is consistent with the description of the Yao folklores, Yao scriptures, and genealogies of the Liannan Yao people, which all mention that their ancestors came from Changsha, Daozhou, Chenzhou and Jianghua in Hunan" (Editorial committee 1985:9).

Even though the migrating route is generally

accepted by scholars, it is still difficult to connect the migrating history with the role of Liao Yong. However, it is worth noting that the Yao were taken to Lianzhou about a half century after the Meishan conflict, a major incident in Yao history that triggered the migrating waves of the Yao people (Hsieh 1989; Rao 1988). It is difficult to verify the truths of the story at present stage but we can try to understand the message implied in the legend. Noting the relations between the Yao people and Liao Yong, we can see that they were master and servants. The Yao were able to settle in Liannan mainly due to the mercy of their master. It seems to suggest that the Yao people occupied an inferior position to the Liao. Moreover, the practice of paying tax to the Liao further suggests that the Yao people not only were humble but also had to obey their masters in order to have a peaceful lives. The payment of tax also implies the relationship of landlord and tenant. The version provided by the Yao people themselves explaining the origin of paying tax to the Liao strongly supports this idea (Lee 1939:357):

> Their [the Yao people] version was that a Chinese woman had sexual relations with a dog, and that she gave birth to eight baby dogs. To avoid society's damnation, the mother married each of the dogs to a wife and then sent them to each of the eight pais [villages] now

existing. The mother also tied a piece of red cloth round the neck of each of the sons. That explains why every male Yao adult possesses a red turban. The dogs eventually turned into men, but by then the mother was old. a kind man, a certain Mr. Liu [Liao], took pity on her, and undertook to travel to each of the eight pais to collect money from the sons for the mother. The sons readily agreed. Ever since, the Yao people have made regular payment. Once a drunkard haggled with Mr. Liu [Liao] and paid two coppers less than he ought to have paid. The following year Yau Ling [Youling] village experienced a drought. The superstitious Yao thought that the god was angry because somebody paid less than the usual amount. so today they never think of haggling with Mr. Liu [Liao]. Moreover they asked the people of Hoh Chuen [He Cun] (the village from which Mr. Liu comes) to send somebody each year to make collection, so that there will always be a good year and a good harvest (Lee 1939:357).

Although in this version Mr. Liao was not a master, it nevertheless suggests he occupied a superior position in relation to the Yao people. Should the money be collected as a contribution to the mother, why the practice continues even after the death of the mother?

It seems that a contribution has become a guarantee of good lives and harvest. If we treat the Liao as an image of the Han Chinese, then the legend may be explained as saying that only by maintaining good relations with the Han Chinese such as paying tax can a good life be guaranteed. Maybe my treatment of the Liao as an image of the Han Chinese has gone too far, however, it is undeniable that the legend about the Yao people and Liao Yong conveys a strong message of obedience.

Finally, the Yao people's legends also convey the causes of their migration. According to the above-mentioned legends, the Pai Yao were originally settled in Hunan. They left their place of origin because of drought and conflict with the Han Chinese. We can say that the drought was the underlying cause of their migration while the conflict with the Han Chinese was the immediate cause. These two causes, however, are two sides of the same token. During the course of Chinese history, there have been four great mass southward migrations of the Han Chinese . The third wave was at "the aftermath of the Mongol conquest and the Sung [Song] retreat into South China"(Wiens 1952:107). The migration of the Pai Yao was, on the one hand, triggered by the Meishan conflict as suggested by Jiann Hsieh, and on the other hand, a result of mass migration of the Han Chinese into South China. Demographic pressure forced the Han Chinese to move southward to seek fertile lands

and water sources. They then came into conflict with the Yao people. We may therefore say the demographic pressure of the Hans was experienced as lack of fertile (i.e. irrigated) land for the Yao. As the Han Chinese took the best land owing to their majority and military force backed up by the state, and left only barren dry land for the Yao, the relations between the Hans and the Yao thus became a competition for scarce resources such as land and water.

CHAPTER III

THE HAN-YAO RELATIONS

From the description of the previous chapter we know that the Pai Yao may have settled in Lian County as early as in the Song Dynasty (960-1279). As the region is near to the Han Chinese, we can thus infer that the Pai Yao started their relations with the Han Chinese at a rather early time. This is evident from their settlement pattern, language and subsistence technology. To understand the Qing Dynasty's policy toward them, it is important not only to know the details of the policy but also the relations between the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese.

A. THE SPHERES OF INTERACTION

1. The Markets (Xu,墟)

The prime scene where the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese came into contact was at the markets. The Pai Yao were living in mountainous regions which only had limited resources. Due to the low productivity and backwardness of their technology, the Pai Yao had to obtain production tools and some articles of daily necessities by exchanging their agricultural products with the Han Chinese.

The products carried by the Pai Yao to the markets in the nearby Han regions included cereals, beans, sweet potatoes, fowls, domesticated animals, woods, fruits,

tea and coal. These agricultural products were used to exchange for production tools such as colter, harrow, beam, saw, sickle, knife, axe, chopper, spade and other iron-made tools. Some daily necessaries such as oil, cloths, noodles and ceramics were also obtained from the markets (Lian 1988:150).

The exchange activities were not necessarily carried out in the markets as it would be inconvenient to some Yao people. To facilitate the exchange of commodities and obtain profits, some Han traders were shuttling between the Pai Yao villages and the markets. They carried with them the products required by the Pai Yao and visited their villages constantly. In Nangang (南崗), this kind of business had been known since 1850 (Editorial committee 1987:56). It happened that some of the Han traders had actually settled down in the Pai Yao villages and worked as shopkeepers to provide various kinds of materials to the Pai Yao. Most of the traders came from nearby Han villages or the Hunan Province. There were three reasons that the Han traders were willing to travel between the Pai Yao villages: firstly, to keep the pot boiling. They worked as traveling traders in order to find an alternative way to change the difficult life in their own villages; secondly, to avoid conscription and payment of tax; thirdly, to avoid punishment because of committing crimes. However, the first two points were the main reasons that the Han

traders emerged (Ibid:56).

From the products being exchanged between the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao people we note an imbalanced relationship was established between the two parties. We can see the products sold by the Pai Yao were simply agricultural products which were not difficult for the Han Chinese to obtain from other regions or provinces. However, to the Pai Yao, the articles of products they purchased from the markets or obtained from the Han traders were necessaries to them. Their life would be more difficult or even impossible if they did not have them. This is why the Qing government always intended to enclose the Yao regions when revolts or conflict arose.

The imbalance implies that not only the Pai Yao were backward in their production technology but also that they were located in an inferior ecological niche as compared with the Han Chinese. The production in the Yao regions was difficult to sustain their population. The introduction of Han Chinese's cultivating technology and technique did relieve part of the population pressure, however, it did not settle the whole problem. In order that they might settle the problem, they had to obtain more lands through various channels. It is therefore no wonder to see the sale and purchase of land together with the disputes over transactions of the same had been a common phenomenon between the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao.

2. The Sale and Purchase of Land

To an agrarian society, land is the most important means of production. To the Pai Yao, the sale and purchase of land was bilateral: the Han Chinese buy and sell as do the Pai Yao. According to documentary records (Li 1988:165), the earliest known transaction was in the Chongzhen Reign (1628-1644) (崇禎) of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The deed is preserved by the Pai Yao in Daping. It is a Maishan qi (賣山契literally, the deed of selling hill) which recorded that a piece of hill land was sold by a Han Chinese in the Lianshan County to the six clans(surnames) in Libadong(里八洞).

In Neitian (內田) (Editorial committee 1987:172), according to the memory of the Yao seniors, the sale and purchase of land had existed before 1821. During this time the main transactions were the Pai Yao purchasing land in mountainous regions from the Han Chinese. After Daoguang Reign(1821-1850), the sale and purchase of land and forest(shanlin,山林) between the Yao people and the Han Chinese was increased.

In Dazhangpai(大掌排), the sale and purchase of means of production must first be sold to the members of the lineage and the village. If no member of the lineage or the village can afford to buy, the vendor then can sell it to the Yao people at other villages or the Han Chinese. They do not have to obtain advice or consent of the member of the lineage and village, but have to invite a middleman so as to enter a contract.

It is known that the contract must state clearly the reason of sale, the location of the land and the name of the land and the signatures of the middleman, vendor and vendee (Editorial committee 1987:258).

The procedure of the transaction is as follows: the vendor should first invite a middleman who will seek a vendee and discuss the price. After both parties reach an agreement over the price, the vendee should bring with him wine, meat and rice to the house of the vendor so as to invite the family of the vendor to have a meal. The meaning of the meal is to show that the transaction is "public sale and public purchase and is known to everyone"(gongmai gongmai, zhongsuo zhouzhi,公買公賣，衆所周知). No one can then deny the transaction. After the meal both parties sign the contract and the vendor hands over the land deed to the vendee. The transaction is then deemed to be completed (Ibid:173).

In Neitian (Editorial committee 1987:174), the pattern of sale and purchase of hill forest was that the Yao people sold it to the Han Chinese or the Yao people to the Yao people. It was rare that the Han Chinese sold hill forest to the Yao people. The sale and purchase of hill forest refers to the sale and purchase of fir forest. There were two types: selling the mature forest and selling the premature forest. The former means when the firs were mature enough to be cut down the forest owner then sold out the forest. The usual purchasers

were Han traders or rich Pai Yao. A contract had to be entered through a middleman. The other type is selling the premature forest (Maiqingshan,卖青山). In that case, the forest was sold before it was mature enough. Sometimes the forest was sold together with the hill but sometimes only the forest was sold. In the latter case, the purchaser, after chopping the forest, had to return the hill to the hill owner.

3. The Lease of Land

It was not common that the Pai Yao could purchase land from the Han Chinese. Only the rich Pai Yao had the ability to do so. For most of the general public of the Pai Yao, the possible way to settle the problem of shortage of land was to take cultivable land on lease from the Han Chinese.

According to the old contract collected in Neitian, the Yao people and the Han Chinese had come into leasehold as early as in the Jiaqing Reign (1796-1820). At this time, it was mainly the Yao people took the hill land on lease from the Han Chinese. They paid a fixed rent to the hill land owner annually. After the Daoguang Reign (1821-1850), due to the development of the sale and purchase of land, many lands were concentrated in the hand of rich Yao people and that began the leasehold within the Pai Yao villages. Many rich Pai Yao even bought wet fields from the plains of the Han regions. As these wet fields were located far

from the Yao village and the Pai Yao were accustomed to dry land cultivation, it was difficult for the Pai Yao to cultivate these lands. Therefore most of the landowner leased these lands to the Han Chinese and collected rent annually (Editorial committee 1987:176).

As indicated in the research in Neitian (Editorial committee 1987), most of the paddy fields (shuitian,水田) were leased by the Yao owner (lessor) to the Han Chinese (lessee). The procedure of the lease of land is as follows: before every year's Chungeng (literally, spring cultivation,春耕), the lessee brings with him one or two catties of pork and two or three catties of wine and meals in the lessor's house. After the meal they discuss the terms of the leasehold. After harvest, the lessor will send his representative to collect rent on agreed date. Before the next Chungeng, if the lessee intends to continue the lease, he must visit the lessor as he did the year before and express his intention otherwise the landowner can transfer the lease to another lesser (Ibid).

As to the hill land, it was either the Yao people took the lease from the Han Chinese or from the Yao people. As the cultivation of hill land might involve a very long period of time such as twenty years, most of the lease of hill land would be set up by way of contract known as "Shandi qiyue"(山地契约 literally, the deed of hill land). The contents of the deed included

names of the lessor and the lessee, location of the hill land, rent and condition of the lease etc. It was known that after the lessee took the grant, their personal freedom (renshen,人身) was also bound by the hill land owner (Editorial committee 1987:177).

4. Indebtedness

The other area where the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese entered into contact was through the advance of loans. The Pai Yao borrowed various kinds of goods or even money from the Han Chinese to pass their difficult time. They usually borrowed the loan from the rich Pai Yao, the Han Chinese or the Han traders (Editorial committee 1987:52-55).

According to two I.O.U. receipts collected in Neitian, the advance of loan appeared in 1850 (Ibid:178). During this time the monthly interest for one dollar was 39 cents. However, after the Daoguang Reign, the advance of loan was more prosperous. Until the Xianfeng Reign (1851-1861), the scope of loan was extended to the Han Chinese. At this time, the poor Han Chinese of the nearby region asked loan from the rich Yao people. A I.O.U. receipt shows that the monthly interest for one dollar was 60 cents!

Based on the period of lease and interest rate, the loan advanced in Neitian had three types: annual type, monthly type and market type. The interest rate for the annual type was 20% to 100%, monthly type was

20% while the market type was 5% to 10%. Most of the loans were advanced as monthly type. Market type was rare. Some of the loans were calculated in compound interest. A deed would be entered for advance or loan. Guarantor and pledge were required for asking a loan. It was very difficult to ask a loan without pledge. The items of pledge included field, clothes, fir, cattle, swine, bird-gun and other premature crops such as maize (Ibid:179-180).

As documents are not available, it is difficult to estimate the loan borrowed by the Pai Yao from the Han Chinese. However, it must occupy an important portion because indebtness was one of the reasons that caused the Han-Yao conflict.

B. THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE PAI YAO AND THE HAN CHINESE

The conflicts between the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese can generally be grouped into three categories: firstly, quarrels about some "minor matters", as described by the local officials; secondly, the extortion of the Yao people by the Han Chinese; thirdly, the fraud of the soldiers and local officials. Of course, not all conflicts can be grouped into these three categories, however, this classification can reveal the basic type of conflicts between the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao.

1. Quarrels About "Minor Matters"

To some officials, some conflicts between the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese were too "minor" to deserve too much attention. However, so that we may understand the relations between the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao, we cannot neglect the implicit meaning of these conflicts.

Yin Huaxing(殷化行, Guangdong Governor, once said in his memorial submitted to the Emperor (Huang & Liu 1984:395) that the conflict of the Han Chinese and the Yao people was caused by minor matters such as the robbery of rice and cattle. Li Laizhang(李来章), once the magistrate of the Lianshan County, in his advice given to the Pai Yao also mentioned that their conflicts were aroused by these "minor matters" that should not deserve long term feuding and mutual killing. These minor matters included robbery of pigs, chickens, hats and straw-cloths and being unable to pay debts and accrued interest (Li & Fang 1987:268).

One of the most common quarrels was about the robbery of cattle. Li Laizhang mentioned in his book (Li & Fang 1987) that an officer, Wu Junxi(武君仕), was adroit in dealing with the Pai Yao's robbery of cattle or other miscellaneous materials. Yin Huaxing in the above-mentioned memorial even mentioned that more than one thousand cattle were caught by the Pai Yao. Although this figure is rather exaggerated, it did reflect the fact that one of the items that was stolen by the Pai Yao was cattle. Cattle, being one of the important

sources of dynamics in cultivation, were important to the Pai Yao. However, due to their poverty it was not easy for them to buy a cow. Stealing was then one of the ways to obtain a cow.

The other material that became the object of theft was rice. As generally known, poverty and low productivity has caused the Pai Yao to constantly live in a starving condition. When they could not afford to purchase the necessary stuff, it is understandable why they robbed rice and conflict may easily be aroused over the same. For instance, in 1698 a conflict broke out between a Yao in Libadong and three Han Chinese. The cause of the conflict was about the robbery of rice. The Pai Yao then robbed money and captured the Han Chinese. The incident was settled by military force (Li & Fang 1987:220).

The other reason that the government sent troops to suppress the Pai Yao was that they robbed the properties of the local Han Chinese. In 1686, the Pai Yao in Majianpai (馬鞍排 and Junliaopai (軍寮排 used the excuse of cultivation to hide in the Zhutoushan (literally, Pig-head mountain) and robbed the passing Han Chinese. They disturbed the Han Chinese for almost twenty years. Finally, a Qingwo Battalion(清窩營 was set up in the region for guarding against the Yao robbers (Ibid:212). In the same year, about 300 Pai Yao of Babaishu(八百寮), Longshuiwei(瀧尾), Xinzhai(新寨) and

Daping(大坪) were gathering to rob the passing villagers. They hurt some soldiers and were suppressed by the governmental officers (Ibid:219).

Finally, another kind of conflict was appeared because of competition for land. According to a "boundary certificate" (山界地照 dijie zhizhao) collected in Dazhangpai (Editorial committee 1987:237), quarrels about land between the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao occurred as early as 1626. Based on the certificate the researcher concluded that: firstly, before 1626, the Yao people had already settled down in Dazhang and established relations with the Han Chinese; secondly, there were sales and purchases of field land and hill forest. The Yao people cultivating there had to pay tax and rent to the Han Chinese; thirdly, the Yao people and the Han Chinese always quarreled with each other about the interest of hill land and field land.

2. Han Chinese Extortion

Although some of the Pai Yao were involved in robbing and marauding the property of the Han Chinese, however, it does not mean that all evils were done by the Pai Yao. It was known that some robberies were done by the Han Chinese but were imputed to the Pai Yao. For example, Xi En (禧恩) in his memorial (Huang & Liu 1984:447) mentioned that some Han Chinese pretended to be Pai Yao and extorted the villagers and robbed their properties in market place. Moreover, there were some

Han Chinese gathering to rob the Pai Yao and steal their cattle and rice. This kind of behavior worsened the Han-Yao relations and caused much misunderstanding.

The Han Chinese always intended to accuse the Pai Yao of any kinds of wrongdoing. For example, Li Laizhang recorded an incident that reflects the fraudulent behavior of the Han Chinese. The case happened in Hongluoping (洪爐坪) of Lian County where two Han Chinese were robbed of clothes and hats. Actually they did not know who were the robbers but as the location was near to Junliaopai(軍寮排) and Majianpai(馬箭排) so they accused the Yao of the robbery and demanded a compensation of 120 taels of sliver. It was lucky that the matter was fairly adjudicated afterwards (Li & Fang 1987:274).

There were also two incidents indicating how the Han Chinese exploited the Pai Yao. In 1888, a Han Chinese in Lian County alleged that Shakeng (沙坑) of Neitian was his property and led a group of people to chop the firs. The Yao people tried to stop them but the Han Chinese destroyed the Yao people's doors. The Pai Yao in turn hurt one of the Han Chinese. The Han Chinese petitioned the officials in the Lian County while the Pai Yao reported the case to the officials in Lianshan County. However, both officials adjudicated that the Pai Yao should compensate the Han Chinese by paying white silvers (Editorial committee 1987:157). The second

incident happened in Dazhangpai (Ibid:258-261). There were plenty of firs in Dazhangpai. This aroused the greediness of two Han Chinese. They invented a story and accused the Pai Yao of robbing their properties. They demanded a compensation of 400 taels of silver and 200 firs worth 600 taels of sliver to be paid to them within ten days. They also threatened that if the Pai Yao failed to do so they would invite the soldiers to settle the matter. The Pai Yao were frightened by their extortion and intended to riot. It was lucky that the matter was made known to Li Laizhang who finally settled the matter fairly and punished the Han Chinese.

3. Local Official Extortion

The officers and local officials, as they held the authority to administer the local affairs, occupied a special role in Han-Yao relations. If the quarrel of the Han Chinese and the Yao people was brought to a fair and just official, the matter might be settled fairly. In that case the Yao people would be satisfied and did not intend to cause further trouble. However, most of the cases were treated unfairly. The grievance of the Pai Yao incurred by this kind of injustice in the long term accumulated to the extent that it became a constant underlying cause of the Yao riots.

There were practices that gave the local officials or petty officials opportunities to oppress the Pai Yao. For instance, Li Laizhang (Li & Fang 1987:231) once

described two kinds of these practices. One of them is that it was a tradition that the local office, battalions and regiments would send their officials to the Pai Yao villages to buy tea, cotton, yellow bean, chicken and duck etc. every year. These purchasers offered a pretended official price to the Pai Yao and collected the goods at that price. This price, however, was a unfair price and made the Pai Yao suffer a loss on selling these goods to the officials. The second practice was annual checking of the Yao villages. The petty officials could thus utilize this chance to extort the Pai Yao.

There were also cases where once the Pai Yao got involved in litigation, the officials then extorted the Pai Yao to pay compensation or pay money for redemption. For example, in 1708, a Han villager lost a cow. He alleged that the cow was stolen by the Pai Yao. Guan Sheng (關陞), a soldier of the Huchatong Battalion (虎汉塘) took the chance to visit the Yao village and pretended to be a mediator. He was given 1.5 taels of silver. Two town guards, Lan Guoxiang (藍国祥) and Lai Yu ( ), also took the similar action and received 2.4 taels of silver. Another three petty officials, Zeng Xiang (曾向), Zhang Taiyuan (張太元) and Li Xiayan (李夏元) also visited the Yao village and received 2.2 taels of silver. A civilian, Xu Yirong (許一榮), was unhappy that he had not received anything. He invited Zhang Taiyuan to demand

the cow-silver (cost of the cow,牛钱) from the Pai Yao. This time the Yao people raged because they had paid the relevant officers three times, however, the matter was still not settled yet. The Pai Yao captured these two people and interned them in the village. They demanded the return of the paid silver and further demanded 2.4 taels of silver as "a wine silver" (literary, silver for purchasing wine). Moreover, they also required a guarantee to be signed by the petty officials in the office before releasing the captives. This matter was later brought to Li Laizhang and settled by him fairly (Ibid:264).

CHAPTER IV

THE PAI YAO POLICY: IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to understand the Qing Dynasty's policy toward the Pai Yao, it is important to understand the ruling section's attitude toward the non-Han people. This means we have to look into the ideological orthodoxy of the dynasty. Some scholars, such as Fairbank, Lien-sheng Yang, have referred to this as the "Chinese world order". This normative pattern was "a set of ideas and practices developed and perpetuated by the rulers of China over many centuries" (Fairbank 1968a:1). Exploring this world order may help us understand the guiding principles that determined the policy toward the Pai Yao.

The Manchus, as a non-Chinese ruling group, had finally accepted the Chinese perception of world order although their original motivation was to control their Chinese subjects by using Chinese concepts (Schwartz 1968:276). The reason they abandoned the original motivation may be, as Fairbank says, "that traditional China could be ruled only as a combined state-and-culture" (Fairbank 1968b:273). In other words, political power was controlled by cultural means. The socio-political order was maintained, not by military force, but by "ideological props" such as the teaching of imperial Confucianism inculcated through the civil examination. Therefore, the non-Chinese Manchu emperors

had to rule in Chinese style using both the Chinese government and the Chinese culture. They on the one hand used the Chinese cultural form, and on the other hand employed Manchu, Mongol and Chinese personnel (Ibid).

A. SINOCENTRIC WORLD ORDER

It is generally accepted that the relations of the Chinese with their neighboring areas and non-Chinese people were colored by the concepts of Sinocentrism and Chinese superiority. The Chinese world (天下, literally all-under-Heaven), according to Fairbank (1968a), maintained a sense of "all-embracing unity and cultural entity". It was hierarchical and anti-egalitarian. People occupied different status levels in accordance with their difference in sex, kinship, and social function. The Confucian philosophy was the orthodoxy of this hierarchical order which "was supported and perpetuated by the literate elite through doctrines of superordination-subordination summed up in the Three Bonds (san-kang) [sangang,三綱]" (Ibid:5-6).

At the apex of this Chinese world was the Son of Heaven. Under him was the hierarchical social order sustained by a heavy stress on ideological orthodoxy, "especially on the idea that adherence to the correct teachings would be manifested in virtuous conduct and would enhance one's authority and influence (te) [de,德]" (Fairbank 1968a:6). Right standards would be instilled

in man through education and indoctrination and thus promoted harmony between rulers and ruled, and so maintained social order. But this did not guarantee that all people would be influenced by proper ceremonies (li, 禮) and right principles. For those people not influenced by right principles, regulation and punishment (fa, 法) then became necessary means of control. Li (礼) and fa (法) thus were two tools of government to maintain the social order. The Son of Heaven may thus take these two tools to dispense rewards and punishments (Ibid:6). According to Fairbank, the Chinese world order "was unified and centralized in theory by the universal preeminence of the Son of Heaven." The most important implication of the Son of Heaven's position in this hierarchical social order, as pointed out by Fairbank, is that "his personality was the concrete object of loyalty and awe, rather than any impersonal and abstract concept of state, people, or nation" (Ibid:6-7).

The Manchu emperors, as the Son of the Heaven, were thus obtained the legitimacy to maintain harmony in this hierarchical social order. The manipulation of li (礼) and fa (法), however, was derived from the idea of de (virtue, power, 德) which was the guiding principle of China's non-Chinese policy.

B. THE PRINCIPLE OF DE (德)

The guiding principle influencing China's relations with non-Chinese under their world order was

the concept of de. Wang Gunwu in his masterly paper, "Early Ming Relations with Southeast Asia: Background Essay", made an profound investigation into this concept. He (1968:43) says that the Chinese historians, upon reading their Classic of Documents, came to agree that de was the essence of a good government and it was the presence of this de that persuaded people within and outside the empire to offer submission and accept the leadership of the Son of Heaven. To Chinese historians, de was seen as central to China's relations with foreign countries after the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The great proponent of this view was Wei Cheng(魏徵(580-643) whose idea was supported by other historians. They reached this conclusion because, Wang explains, "they lived in a reign of judicious campaigns against countries to the northwest, north and northeast and a succession of victories. It seemed clear to them that te [de] was the product and a function of power" (Wang 1968:42-44). Wang maintains that the Tang history confirmed a Confucian government which was to guide foreign relations (Ibid).

It is important, however, to remember that the possession of de did not mean the denial of using force. To the Tang historians, de was supplemented by the skilful manipulation of force which actually brought power and glories to the empire. It was through the decline of Southern Song (1127-1279) and Yuan (1279-1368) Dynasties that the Chinese ministers came to

realize the relation between force and de. Wang (1968:49) in his paper made an excellent remark on this historical teaching:

> This was long enough for the Chinese ministers to find that there was no real contradiction between te [de] and force as long as the force was applied by a ruler possessing te [de]. After all, there were the examples of Han Wu-ti [Han Wudi] and Tang T'ai-tsung [Tang Taizong] in Chinese history and both were more successful when compared with Khubilai Khan's failures in Annam and Champa and against Japan and Java. With te [de], the use of force would have been more positive and just; without te [de], force was deemed to fail. The Mongol conquest proved that force was necessary, but the rapid decline of the Yuan dynasty also confirmed that the old formula of wei and te [de], material "power" and moral "virtue," must not be separated. What was wrong with the Sung [Song] was its overemphasis on te [de] and its neglect of wei. The proper balance between the two was essential. This was the lesson of Mongol rule.
>
> ..... The Mongols had reminded the Chinese of what had been the winning combination in the past, a hard core of wei surrounded by a soft pulp of

te [de] (Wang 1968:49).

In addition to the principle of de, there were the ideas of impartiality and inclusiveness affecting the China and non-Chinese relationship. Impartiality refers to the "ideal situation in which the emperor did not discriminate between various foreign rulers.... These rulers were not equal to the emperor, but they were equal in the eyes of the emperor" (Wang 1968:50). Based on the study of Hung Wu Emperor's foreign policy, Wang says that impartiality toward foreign countries was a function of Chinese power and that "it was convincing only when China's strength and security could not be challenged" (Ibid:53). "Inclusiveness" was originally implied in Yung Lo Emperor's practice of giving largesse and hospitality to vassal of the Ming Dynasty in order to "show nothing left out" or "show no outer-separation (shih-wu-wai)'. Wang explains that this attitude goes much further than impartiality because it implies "admission into the family of civilized people" (Ibid:54).

Although the principle of de, and the ideas of impartiality and inclusiveness were applied to the foreign countries, they were also employed by the Qing Dynasty to deal with the Pai Yao. De, impartiality and inclusiveness were included in the Qing Dynasty's policy toward the Pai Yao with a different appearance which I will discuss later.

C. THE PRINCIPLE OF NEI-WAI (INNER AND OUTER ZONES)

To Lien-sheng Yang, the sinocentric hierarchy of the Chinese world order has meaning in at least three ways: China being internal, large, and high and the barbarians being external, small and low (Yang 1968:20). He says that the idea of inner and outer zones or areas is an important one that deserves more attention.

Traditionally, the Hsia (2100 B.C.-1600 B.C.) and Shang (1600 B.C.-1066 B.C.) dynasties were said to have had five zones (wufu,五服) and the Zhou (1066 B.C.-221 B.C.) as many as nine. Although these divisions were largely fictitious they do reflect a more realistic division "between nei-fu [內服], the inner or royal domain, and wai-fu [外服], areas of the outer lords". The characteristic of these two terms is that (Yang 1968:21),

> [Nei and wai] might be used in a relative sense. Thus, one could talk about the inner-inner, the outer-outer, and so forth. Some of the outer are areas might be absorbed into the inner as a result of military or cultural expansion. Potentially, all "foreign"(chu-fan) could become "outer feudatories"(wai-fan). Or, in more general terms, all "uncivilized barbarians" (sheng-fan) [生蕃] could become "civilized" barbarians (shu-fan) [熟蕃] (Yang 1968:21).

The importance of the division of wai and nei lies in the fact that it affected China's policy toward the non-Chinese. According to T. Kurihara (Fairbank 1968a:8),

> [T]he interior vassal of the Son of Heaven included high officials, feudal princes, and lesser lords within the area of China proper, where the virtuous influence (te) [de] of the Son of Heaven prevailed and both li (ceremonies) and fa (regulations) were fully effective, whereas exterior vassals were of lower rank and ruled in peripheral areas on the borders of China where the imperial influence (te) [de] was only imperfectly diffused and the li were effective but fa were not (that is, the Son of Heaven lacked direct power) (Fairbank 1968:8).

Kurihara also notes that there was an area where the imperial influence was less prevalent and only special aspects of the li were effective (Ibid).

D. APPLICATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

As mentioned in the previous section, the most important ideas that affected the Qing Dynasty's policy toward the Pai Yao, in my view, are the ideas of inner and outer zones and the idea of wei and de. The former principle constituted the basic attitudes of the

emperors of the Qing Dynasty toward the Pai Yao and the latter justified the strategy employed by them. We should not think that this attitude was the product of the Qing Dynasty's rule. Rather, it was a value judgment or perception that were borrowed from the Han Chinese.

1. The Application of Nei and Wai

Although the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao were both the subjects of the Qing Dynasty they were treated differently. In the eyes of the Qing emperors, they were two distinctive groups. Although some of the Qing emperors tried to treat them impartially, as they said "the Han Chinese and the Yao are regarded as of one" (Minyao yiti,民猺一体), they failed in some aspects. The Yao and the Han Chinese received different treatments and enjoyed different rights. I may say that the Pai Yao were not treated impartially under the administration of the Qing Dynasty. They could not enjoy part of the entitlements enjoyed by the Han Chinese. The difference comes from the idea of inner and outer zones which determined the division of min (民, the Han Chinese) and Yao. The inner/outer distinction can be explained in terms of degree of difference in civilization because the difference between the Han Chinese and the Yao people, in the Han Chinese view, was a degree of difference in civilization. It is not difficult to find the description of the Yao or the non-Han Chinese as uncivilized. Many examples can be used to substantiate

this idea. For example, the Daoguang Emperor in his edict says, "I regard the rebel [Zhao Jinlong, , the leader of the Hunan Yao revolt in 1832] is a Yao who is different from the people of the mainland" (XZSL:3900)[1]. This edict shows that in the mentality of the emperor the Yao and the Han Chinese were two different groups. The first impression we got from this edict regarding the difference between the Yao and the Han Chinese is their residential location. The Yao were settled in the peripheral or outer zone of the regime. However, the most important difference lies in the fact that the Yao were "not yet civilized"(weiguehua,未歸化 and their nature were "obstinate and untamed" (頑固不馴).

In 1703, the Kangxi Emperor mentioned that "the Yao people of Guangdong occupied the mountainous region. They presume on the mountain's steepness and are not submitted to the civilization yet" (SZSL:2787). In another edict of the same year, he mentioned that the Pai Yao always presumed on the steepness and remoteness of the mountains to act against the army and they were "obstinate and untamed" (Ibid:2777). Not only did the Kangxi Emperor think that the Pai Yao were obstinate and untamed, the Daoguang Emperor also had similar view on the Yao people. He had once held a more radical view. In the riot of 1832, when the Yao were defeated they begged for surrender, but the Emperor said the Yao were "wolves with wild heart and does not deserve trust" (XZSL:3894).

It is worth noting that not all the Yao people were obstinate and untamed. Similarly to the way the Yao were distinguished from the Han Chinese, the Yao were

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1. Abbreviation used in the notes:
   XZSL:Qing Xuanzong Huangdi Shilu (The veritable records of the Emperor Daoguang)
   SZSL:Qing Shengzu Huangdi Shilu (The veritable records of the Emperor Kangxi)

also further classified into categories. That is, as Lien-sheng Yang says, "the wai and nei might be used in a relative sense." The Pai Yao were grouped into two types: tamed and untamed (good and ill, 良莠). The Daoguang Emperor in his edict says, "the couch of the Pai Yao has about 70 to 80 hamlets and 50,000 to 60,000 households. The good and the ill are both half" (XZSL:3894). The division of the Yao means the application of different attitudes and policies toward them. For example, during the riot of Zhao Jinlong in 1832, the Daoguang Emperor instructed the officials to "punish the rebels and the Yao bandit in accordance with the law. Disperse the followers but do not cause panic and much trouble. Appease those contented Yao and do not frighten them" (Ibid:3663). From this we see the Emperor still clear in mind that only those revolted should be punished and the "contented" should not be disturbed.

This distinction of good and ill was sometimes called "Raw" (sheng,生) and "Cooked" (shu,熟). Different treatments of this sheng and shu have been seen in other non- Han Chinese other than the Pai Yao. For example, in

1703, the Miao of Guizhou (貴州) were divided into "Raw" and "Cooked". Different punishment was applied to these two groups for their misbehaviors. If a "Cooked Miao" was caught for robbery, he would receive the punishment received by the Han Chinese. However, if a "Raw Miao" was caught for the same crime, the local officials would punish him in accordance with the case that the "Miao barbarians" had invaded the local region (SZSL:2766). The Kangxi Emperor also distinguished those revolutionary Miao from those who had not participated in revolts or riot. In 1703, a Miao revolted and engaged in banditry in Guizhou. Soldiers were sent to arrest the leader of the riot. The soldiers were instructed that if the Miao people handed over the criminal, the soldiers should then withdraw otherwise they could exterminate the Miao. The Emperor also instructed the soldiers and the officials that they should not disturb the Miao people along their route (SZSL:3079). We can therefore see that although some members of an ethnic group revolted against the government, the Emperor would not overresponse.

The Qing emperors not only did not disturb the contented non-Han Chinese, but also allowed them to received limited "civilization". For example, an official in Hunan Province suggested that the "Cooked Miao" in Huguang (湖廣) who understood the Chinese classics should be treated as Han Chinese and be allowed to attend the civil examination. This was agreed by the

Kangxi Emperor (Ibid:2931). In the same year, after the riot of the Red Miao had been suppressed, some officials also suggested setting up charitable school (Yixue,義學) and allowing the Miao people to study in the school. This suggestion were also accepted by the Kangxi Emperor (Ibid). The Yao people also had similar experiences. In 1832, after the suppression of the He County Yao in Guangxi, the Daoguang Emperor agreed that the good Yao should always be rewarded. As the Yao people were "foolish in nature and easily be cheated by other people", it was decided that every Yao hamlet should have its own charitable school to teach the Yao the knowledge of righteousness (XZSL:4038).

The idea of nei and wai was the origin of Raw and Cooked, the division of "civilized' and "uncivilized'. There were several criteria to differentiate "raw" from "cooked". These criteria can be treated as ritual which guided the relations between the Han Chinese and the Yao. As pointed out by James Watson, the "standardization of ritual" is central to the creation and maintenance of a unified Chinese culture (1988:3). Following his reasoning, the "raw" ("uncivilized") can be transformed to "cooked" ("civilized") if they perform proper ritual. These rituals included: (1) obeying the dynasty, that means not to be a rebel; (2) receiving education and obtaining literacy; (3) paying tax to the dynasty like other ordinary Han Chinese; (4) residing in

the plain areas or near the Han Chinese and leaving the mountainous regions; (5) studying the official language so as to facilitate mutual communication.

2. The Application of De

We can now turn to the other aspect of the Qing dynasty's ruling ideology. In the Chinese world order, the Emperor occupied the apex and served as the head of the country. The most important relation between the Emperor and his subject was superordination and subordination.

Therefore any action against the country, or disturbance of this relation would be treated as an action against the harmony and against the emperor himself. That means action which reversed the relation was the greatest crime in the eyes of the emperors. For example, the revolt of Zhao Jinlong was described by the Daoguang Emperor as the greatest crime. When the Emperor heard the dressing style of the rebels and the followers he was very angry. He said, "these thieves have the intention of rebellion for a very long time. This is the greatest crime and the worst evil (罪大惡極)" (Ibid:3667). In the same year, when the Daoguang Emperor heard that two officials were killed by the Yao, he angrily reference to these Yao as "the rebellious Yao of the ghost region" (鬼域逆瑤) (Ibid:3693). We can also note that most of the Yao who were against the government were frequently described as "rebellious" (

逆), "thief" and "bandit" (匪). In April of 1832, Zhao Jinlong was called a rebellious Yao and his followers as "the Yao bandit". We must note that these words such as "rebellious", "thief" and "bandit" were also used to refer to the Han Chinese who engaged in action trying to overthrow the Dynasty. The use of these terms clearly indicate that the Yao people were treated as subjects of the Dynasty.

As the Yao people were treated as subjects of the Qing Dynasty, the administrative means of li (礼) and fa (法) were therefore applicable to them. If the Yao took action against the Dynasty, they deserved punishment-- the use of military force-- in the view of the emperors.

We should note that to the emperors the use of military force was a means to bring the order of the country back to the normal and harmonic condition. This policy was applied to the Yao people as well as to the other non-Han Chinese. For example, in 1703, when Kangxi Emperor learnt that the Miao revolted, he immediately instructed the officials that the matter should be dealt with in the manner as the Pai Yao were dealt with. That is, enclosing the area, frightening them and forcing them to submission. He said, "if we do not show these people our force (lihai,利害), then how can the local people be contentedly settled?" (SZSL:2772). This shows that the Emperor was using military force to suppress the revolt and did not intend to exterminate the whole group. Actually, the Kangxi Emperor was rather careful

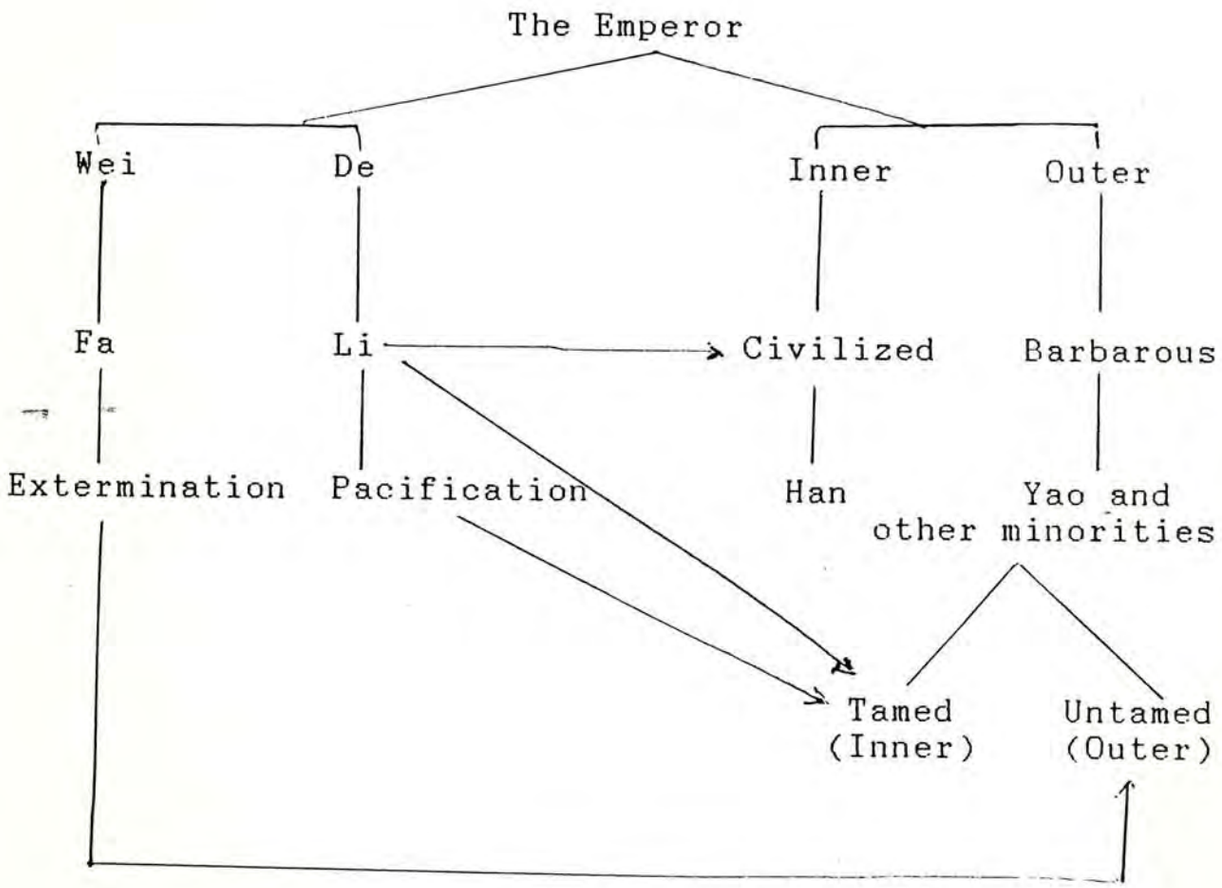
in using military force. In 1707, a Han Chinese was killed by the Red Miao. An officer sent soldiers to suppress the Miao without permission. He was fired by the Emperor and was put on trial (Ibid:3103).

To the Qing emperors, the use of military force was to execute the law of the country and for the benefit of the people in general. As I have said, they treated revolt as the greatest crime and only the rebellious Yao deserved extermination as thoroughly as possible. The Daoguang Emperor in his edict instructed the officials to arrest the leader of the revolt and send him to Beijing for trial. The Kangxi Emperor also emphasized the use of law. To ease the revolt of the Red Miao, he instructed the officials in charge to try the rebels carefully. If the revolt was caused by the Han Chinese and soldiers then these people and soldiers should be punished. If it was caused by the Miao people then the Miao should be punished (Ibid:3104).

This brief discussion shows that the Qing emperors were trying to treat the Han Chinese and the non-Han Chinese on an equal footing. However, it seems that they could not avoid the ideology that non-Han Chinese people were inferior to the Han Chinese especially in their nature. To them, the use of military force was justified by the fact that this means could restore the social order of the country. Figure 5 shows the above ideas in a succint way.

Figure 5

The Relations between Nei-wai and Wei-de



CHAPTER V

THE PAI YAO POLICY: PRACTICAL MEASURES

After reviewing the ideological foundation of the Pai Yao policy, we can now explore further the measures implemented by the Qing Dynasty. In this chapter I will discuss the matter in two directions: firstly, I will point out the general strategies employed by the Qing Dynasty and secondly, I will go into details of the various measures employed by the Qing Dynasty and concentrate on four aspects--military, administration, education and taxation.

A. THE GENERAL STRATEGY

According to our previous discussion, wei and de may be treated as the guiding principles which directed the Qing Dynasty's policy toward the vassal states and foreign countries. Applying the principles internally, wei and de appeared in the form of fa and li respectively. As wei implies the use of force, it is similar to fa which implies the use of punishment measures. De, on the contrary, which refers to the show of mercy and virtue, is like li which suggests proper relations and modest behavior. In dealing with the Pai Yao, both li and fa were applied. To the emperors, the use of military force was justified by the fact that it brought the "barbarians" subject to the reign of civilization and maintained the harmony of social order

which rested on the foundation of superordination and subordination relations. This is why the traditional dynasties always in favor of using the strategy of pacification (撫) and extermination (剿).

The author of The Conquest of the Yao in 1832 had made a brief comparison of the Song (960-1270), Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties' use of strategy of pacification and extermination. He said (Huang & Liu 1987:811-816):

> The categories of the Yao people are many,... most of them are barbarian tribes (manzhu,蠻猪). The barbarians always revolted since the Han dynasty [206 B.C.-A.D. 220]; the best strategy is using the barbarians against the barbarians (yiman zhiman,以蠻制蠻), which means the use of the strategy of pacification and extermination.... The Song Dynasty employed pacification strategy, therefore the establishment and abolition of Yuanzhou (源州) and Chengzhou (澄州) were frequent. The Ming Dynasty employed the strategy of extermination therefore people like Han Yong (韓雍), Li Huan (李宦) and Wang Shouyen (王守仁) were emerged [to importance]. Our dynasty [Qing], taking locality and time into consideration, employs extermination and pacification alternatively. The Yao people, threatened and pacified by our

force and virtue (weide,威德), had hidden and dormant for more than one hundred years... (Huang & Liu 1987:811).

The employment of strategy of pacification and extermination has the very same meaning with "appeasement" (sui,綏), put forward by the Guangdong Governor Qi Gong (祁巩) in the preamble of the Annals of Lianshan Yao-appeaseing Office. According to Qi, the essence of "appeasement" was "taking precaution in the peaceful time and punishing them if there are revolts".

I agree to use the "appeasement" to describe the strategy employed by the Qing Dynasty. The characteristic of appeasement is to employ precautionary measures and military force alternatively. This is in correspondence to the Qing Dynasty"s own strategy. The traditional strategy in dealing with the Pai Yao can be abstracted into three words: extermination (jiu,剿), pacification (fu,抚) and assimilation (hua,化). According to Lian Mingzhi (连铭之), these three strategies characterized three periods of the Han-Yao relations. The Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty up to 1702 was the period of extermination. During this period, although pacification was fitfully employed, the main policy was still extermination. It can be shown in the use of military force. In 1395, a military office was established to carry out defensive affairs. In 1451, a general in charge of "searching the Yao" was assigned.

The pacifying method employed by the Ming Dynasty was sending coin, cloth, silk and other materials to the Yao people. The Qing Dynasty was the pacification period because an office in charge of the Yao affairs was set up. After the Nationalist Regime, assimilation was mainly employed (Lian 1986:146-147).

Although the Qing Dynasty was the period of pacification or appeasement, I am of the opinion that the policy in the Qing Dynasty can be divided into two sub-periods. The first period was from 1702 to 1832. The second period was from 1832 up to the downfall of the Qing Dynasty. The first period emphasized the military control of the Pai Yao while in the second period the sphere of control was widened. Basically, we can see the change from an military control to an administrative control, that is, the establishemt of the Yaozhang (瑤長) and Yaolian (瑤練). We can trace the shift from two aspects.

Firstly, the attitudes held by the emperors. From documents we can note that the reactions of the Daoguang Emperor (1821-1850) and the Kangxi Emperor (1662-1722) were very different when they learnt of the revolt of the Pai Yao. When Kangxi Emperor learnt of the revolt, he simply said in his edict that "if we do not subjugate them, then the nearby Han Chinese cannot be settled peacefully" (SZSL:2772). We see that his position was firm and definite. However, when the Daoguang Emperor knew of the revolt, he was more concerned about the

cause of the revolt. He said, "The Yao people have always been silent. Since they were under control they never revolted for nearly more than one hundred years. This incident came suddenly, there must be reasons arousing this instant revolt. Is it that they have hositility with the nearby villagers or have they been exploited by the ill Han people and that the extreme poverty caused this revolt?" (XZSL:3663).

The settlement of the Yao revolt was very different between the Kangxi Emperor and the Daoguang Emperor. Kangxi accepted Shi Lin (石琳)'s suggestion and set up a regiment in Sanjiang town. This settlement was a kind of action that strengthened the military control. The Kangxi Emperor was not interested in seeking the cause of the revolt or trying to tackle the conflict between the Han Chinese and the Yao. The Daoguang Emperor accepted the resettlement provisions suggested by Xi En (祁墳). These provisions aimed to tackle the cause of conflict between the Han Chinese and the Yao people. Therefore, it is justified to say the previous Qing policy emphasized military control while after 1832 the policy shifted to administrative control.

B. MILITARY MEASURES

According to Qi Gong (祁墳), the central idea of appeasement was the combination of precaution and punishment. Precaution means the implementation of

defensive measures while punishment means the suppression of revolt. The common element of precaution and punishment is that they both depend on military force. In order to control the Pai Yao, soldiers were sent to garrison the Lianyang region (Lian County, Lianshan County and Yangshan County). The government not only relied on the the soilders, but also on the local defending force, known as village guards or local militia (xiangyong,鄉勇). The military measure seems to be one of the most efficient measures in controlling the Pai Yao. According to documented records, the frequency of Yao revolt was decreased after 1703 but increased once again during the Guangxu Reign (1875-1908). Three battalions had been set up during the whole Qing Dynasty with a mission to suppress the Pai Yao.

1. Garrison

a) Lianyang Regiment (Lianyangying,連陽營)

The regiment was set up in 1652 and the original quantum of soldiers was one thousand. The actual number changed later on.

In 1684, the organization of the regiment was restructured. The number of soldiers was reduced to only seven hundred of which including 70 cavalry soldiers (mabing,馬兵), 140 bayonets (buzhanbing,步戰兵), and 490 guards (shoubing,守兵). There were totally eight military officers (wuguan,武官): one Youji (游擊) with four horses, one Shoubei (守備) with three horses, two Qianzong (千總)

with four horses and four Bazong (把总) with eight horses. The regiment was in charge of one zhou (county or department, 州) and two xians (districts or counties,) and the regiment was situated in Lianzhou.

During the Qianlong Reign (1736-1795), in 1742, four more battalions (xun,汛) were added to the regiment: Maogudong battalion (茂古洞), Wenwuling (文武岭), Duntai (屯台) and Huanggualing battalion (黄瓜岭). A bazong (把总) and one hundred soldiers were also added. In 1744, soldiers in charge of micellanous business (bianbing, 兵) were all dismissed. A Qianzong (千总) and one hundred soldiers were assigned from the Left barrack and Right Barrack of the Sanjiang Brigade (Sanjiangxie,三江协). After 1776, two officer posts (bazong,把总) in the Lianshancheng battalion (连山城) were cut in order to create posts for a Qingzong (千总) and twenty-four soldiers. A Qingzong in the Shangshi battalion (上师) was withdrawn but an extra-appointed-officer (waiwei,外委) was appointed and two soldiers stationed at the battalion.

In 1867 (the Tongzhi Reign, 1862-1874), Shangshi battalion (上师营) was disbanded, the extra-appointed officer (waiwei,外委) and the two soldiers were removed to garrison the Tianqiao barigade (天桥协).

In 1895 (the Guangxu Reign, 1875-1908), twenty percent of the guards (shoubing,守兵) were cut and the actual guards in the regiment this year was 302. Until 1909 (the Xuantong Reign, 1909-1911), the whole regiment

was disbanded (Li & Fang 1987:23-24).

b) Sanjiang Brigade (Sanjiangxie,三江協)

After the suppression of the Pai Yao revolt in 1702, Shi Lin (石琳, the Governor-general of Liangguang (兩廣) suggested to set up a Sanjiang Brigade to control the Pai Yao.

It was suggested that there should be two thousand soldiers and sixteen officers. Of the soldiers, 200 were cavalry soldiers, 400 were infantry and 1400 were guards. Of the officers, there were one officer-in-charge (fujiang,副將, one Dusi (督標), two Shoubei (守備), four Qianzong (千總) and eight Bazong (把總). There were totally 248 horses (Li & Fang 1987:25).

The allocation of the soldiers and officers, according to Li Laizhang (李來章) (Ibid:228-229), was as follows:

1. Lianshan (連山): there were 6 Yao-defending officer (Fangyaoguan,防瑤官) and 740 soldiers.
2. Huchatang battalion (虎叉塘汛): officer-in-charge was a Shoubei (守備, under him was a Bazong (把總) and 240 soldiers.
3. Right Barrack, dagonggiaodongkou battalion (大掟橋南口): officer-in-charge was a Qianzong (千總) who led 160 soldiers. Some of the soldiers were assigned to defend the Baisha battalion(白沙汛) and Xinying battalion (新寧汛).
4. Baisha battalion (白沙汛): 30 soldiers, under

the Dagongqiao division (大拱橋分营).

5. Xinying battalion (新营): 20 soldiers,under the Dagongqiao division (大拱橋).
6. Yugao battalion: officer-in-charge was a Bazong (把总) who led 100 soldiers. Someof the soldiers were assigned to Fangshankou battalion.
7. Sanjiangdong battalion (三江南汛): officer-in-charge was a Shoubei (守備) who led a Bazong (把总) and 240 soldiers. Some of the soldiers were assigned to Paoshi battalion (汛) and Qixing battalion (七星汛).
8. Qixing battalion (七星汛): 50 soldiers, under the Sanjiangdong battalion (三江南汛).
9. Paoshi battalion: 30 soldiers, under the Sanjiangdong battalion (三江南汛
10. Shangtai battalion (上苔汛): officer-in-charge was a Qianzong (千总) who led 160 soldiers.
11. Shangjishan battalion (上吉山): 30 soldiers, under the Yugao battalion (东高汛).
12. Banwa battalion (班瓦汛): officer-in-charge was a Bazong (把总) who led 100 soldiers.
13. Lianhua battalion (莲花): 50 soldiers.
14. Huanglian battalion (黄连):50 soldiers.

However, in 1757, 70 guards were cut but another 100 infantry and 100 cavalry soldiers were added. The total number of soldiers still remained at 2,000.

In 1895, the actual number of the soldiers were

reduced to 923. The brigade was in charge of 14 counties and towns. They also provided manpower to different battalions.

In 1909, the whole brigade was disbanded (Li & Fang 1987:25).

c) Yao-appeasing Regiment (Suiyaoying,綏瑤營)

In 1703, Shi Lin suggested moving the Inspecting Subprefect of the Coastal Defence (Haifang dubu tongzhi 海防都捕同知) in Guangzhou to Sanjiang and renaming the post as Yao-managing Subprefect (liyao tongzhi 理瑤同知) who would be also in charge of the inspecting and arresting affairs in the Lianyang region. Under him was a Bazong (把总) with two horses. There were 10 cavalry soldiers with 10 horses, 20 bayonets and 70 guards. Totally, there were 100 soldiers. Half of them were recruited from the village guards or local militia of the Lianyang region and the office was known as Yao-managing Regiment (理瑤營).

In 1734 and 1816, an extra-appointed-officer (waiwei bazong,外委把总) was added respectively. In 1817, the administration was restructured. The Yao-managing subprefect was renamed as Lianshan suiyao zhili tongzhi (literally, subprefect in charge of civil and military affairs of the Yao in Lianshan,连山绥瑤厅同知). The barrack was moved to Lianshan town and renamed as Yao-appeasing Regiment (Suiyaoying,綏瑤營). It was still under the

supervision of the Independent subprefect (Zhili tongzhi).

In 1832, 18 Yao-seniors (Yaozhang,瑤長) were appointed and 64 Yao militia (Yaolianbing,瑤練) were recruited. They were under the supervision of the Independent Subprefect (details of these will be discussed in the next section).

In 1869, thirty percent of the soldiers were cut.

During the Guangxu Reign (1875-1908), in 1897, twenty percent of the soldiers were cut and in 1902, a further twenty percent were cut again. Until 1904, there were only one Bazong (把總), one Extra-appointed-officer (waiwei,外委), two cavalry soldiers, seven infantry and 21 guards (Li & Fang 1987:26-27).

B. Village Guards and Local Militia (Xiangyong,鄉勇)

In order to strengthen their force in dealing with the Pai Yao, local village guards or militia were also employed. There were three reasons that can explain why the local government employed the village guards and militia in defending against the Pai Yao.

Firstly, the village guards were local residents and were therefore more familar with the local environment and the condition in the Yao villages. When Shi Lin suggested the establishment of the Sanjiang Brigade, he had already mentioned the recruitment of the village guards into the new brigade. He said, "because the village guards are the local residents, they are

familar with the situation of the Yao villages and have defended their villages from the Yao everyday" (Li & Fang 1987:34).

Secondly, most of the garrisons came from other provinces. It was not easy for them to get used to the local environment, customs and the food. This unfamiliarity would obviously discourage them. They might conflict with the Yao people or the local people due to misunderstanding. If this was so, then the original purpose of the garrison would be useless. Therefore, a better way to settle the problem was recruiting the local village guards and militia to release part of the soldiers' burden.

Thirdly, most of the sentries could only look after part of the main entrance to the Yao region. It is difficult for the soldiers to look after the whole region. For example, the nearest distance between the stationing posts, according to Li Laizhang, was ten lis (1 li = .36 miles) while the farthest one was fifty to sixty lis. If anything was happened, the transmission of messages and documents would delay any action to be taken. Therefore, recruiting village guards and militia to assist the soldiers in carrying out their duties was more practical and realistic. In case an incident occurred, prompt action could then be taken and the matter would be more easy to control. The activity of the Pai Yao would also be kept under close attention.

From the above-mentioned points of view we can see that the village guards in the Lianyang region had two missions. The first one was to protect their own villages and to arrest thieves. The other one was to protect the Han villagers and assist the soldiers in carrying out their duties of defending the Han Chinese from the Pai Yao. In order that they might be able to accomplish their missions, they had to receive special training. Li Laizhang (Ibid:247) had mentioned how the village guards were trained:

> ....select the strong one from the civilians. Set up 100 village guards to protect the town and give them military training. Five people shall be organized as a group (wu,伍). Ten people shall be grouped as a tithe (shi,什) and led by a tithe leader (shizhang,什長). To tithe a small flag shall be given. Fifty people shall be grouped as a troop (dui,隊) and led by a troop leader (duizhang,隊長). To troop a large flag shall be given. One hundred people shall be led by a Baizong (百總, literally centurion). Lance, chain, shield, blade, bird-gun, gun and whatever they need shall be provided....(Li & Fang 1987:247).

According to records there were 6 local militia Heads (Tuanlianzong,團練總) and 60 militiamen (Lianbing,練兵) in 1707 (Ibid:249).

3. Military Strategy

We can now go to see how the Qing government used the soldiers to suppress the Pai Yao. Generally speaking, they always employed two strategies.

First, "persuading before exterminating". Once disorder occurred and troops were sent to suppress the Pai Yao, it seems that the Qing emperors still tried to give the Pai Yao a last chance to surrender. They usually sent officers to meet the Pai Yao and read out the edicts given by the Emperor. These edicts asked the Pai Yao to hand over the trouble-makers and accomplices or invited the trouble-makers to surrender themselves to justice otherwise extermination would be enforced by the officials. For example, in 1701, the Kanxi Emperor gave his edict to the officers and told them they "must express my mercy on lives (haoshengzhiyi,好生之意) and do not need to carry out the extermination promptly. Show them pacification first, if they do not obey then carry out the extermination". Actually, this kind of persuasion is a last warning or ultimatum rather than a kind of advice. Since the conflict had been aroused, whether the matter could be settled by force or by peace was only a matter of policy. However, it is undeniable that the Qing emperors would like to avoid unnecessary killing if the situation permitted.

Second, enclosing. As noted before, the Pai Yao were living in the mountainous region and their settlements were rather concentrated. The advantage of

this kind of settlement pattern is that the enemy cannot easily reach them due to the steepness of the mountains. However, there are disadvantages too. One of them is that the hill region cannot produce everything the Pai Yao needed or enough food for the Yao people. The Pai Yao had to rely on the Han traders for supplying materials such as salt and rice. This would have been a great disadvantage when the Han Yao were in conflict. It was easy for the government to cut out all materials supplied so as to force the Pai Yao to surrender. Once the material supply was cut, the Pai Yao could not survive for a long time. Even the Qing emperor realized this point. For instance, the Kangxi Emperor instructed the officers in 1702 to "enclose and control the main entrance of the place where the Yao people occupied. It will only spend more subsistence due to the long period. There is no need to use military force and the Yao will be brought to bay". Some officers also intended to use this strategy to control the Pai Yao. For example, in 1708, Youling (油岭), Hengkeng (横坑) and Hangxiang (行乡) in Lianzhou had some restive movement. The office-in-charge moved the garrison to enclose the region and prohibited salt and rice to be sent to the Yao villages. The officers of nearby Lianshan learnt that and also imitated the same action but aroused discontent from the Pai Yao in Lianshan because they had not participated in the movement. They complained to Li Laizhang of the

matter and claimed that they were peaceful and obedient and should not deserve such kind of treatment. With the assistance of Li, the incidence was settled peacefully. Therefore, we can see that this strategy was one of the most powerful means to control the Pai Yao.

4. Discussion

The previous description clearly supports my assertion that before 1832 the Pai Yao were under the military control of the Qing Dynasty. The substantial evidence is that most of the garrisons aimed to suppress the Pai Yao were set up before 1832. For example, the Sanjiang Brigade and Yao-appeasing Regiment were set up in 1702. No other regiment or brigade was set up after that year.

Moreover, we should also note that the number of soldiers posted in these barracks had a decreasing tendency toward the downfall of the Qing Dynasty. It is surprising to see that even after the revolt in 1832, the greatest revolt of the Pai Yao since 1702, the number of the garrison was not increased. The government only intended to have a tight control on the behavior of the soldiers.

C. THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

The implementation of military force cannot be treated as a permanent means to deal with the Pai Yao. The functions of military force were to suppress the Pai

Yao and defend the Han villages and the Han people. This was only a strategy of high pressure imposed by the government. To manage or control the Pai Yao more effectively, other measures had to be employed. One of the methods was putting the Pai Yao under tight administrative control.

The greatest difference between military control and administrative control was that the former was an external pressure imposed by the Qing government while the latter was an internal penetration. The latter was traditionally known as "manipulating Yi against Yi"(以夷制夷). The purpose of administrative control was to employ the Pai Yao to manage their own affairs and report everything to the officer in charge. Therefore it was more easy for the officials to locate the person responsible for the Pai Yao, and on the other hand, any message or policy could be conveyed to the Pai Yao more quickly. That meant the government could pay more keen attention to the Pai Yao which would in turn facilitate military control and the management of Pai Yao affairs. Moreover, this measure would impact the structure of the Pai Yao society to some extent.

1. Office in charge of the Pai Yao affairs

The first office in charge of the Pai Yao affairs was set up in 1703, after the suppression of the Yao revolt in 1702. The establishment was suggested by Shi

Lin(石林). An officer known as "Yao-managing Subprefect (Liyao Tongzhi, 理瑶同知) was assigned from the previous "Inspecting Subprefect of Coastal Defence" (海防管捕) of the Guangzhou Prefecture (廣州府). He was not only responsible for the Pai Yao affairs but also for the arresting affairs of Lianyang sanzhou(連陽三州) and the Yao-managing Regiment (liyaoying, 理瑶营)(Yao 1974:14).

In 1729, Governor-general Kong Yuxun (孔毓珣) recommended that the name of the "Yao-managing Subprefect be changed to "Liyao junmin tongzhi"(lit., Subprefect in charge of civil and military affairs of the Yao 理瑶軍民同知). In the same year, Lianzhou(連州) was restructured as Independent Department (zhilizhou, 直隸州, the name of the officer was therefore renamed as "liyao junmin zhili tongzhi" (lit., Independent Subprefecture in charge of civil and military affairs of the Yao) (Huang & Liu 1984:366).

In 1817, Governor-general Jiang Youxian(蔣攸銛) put forward a suggestion that Lianshan County be combined with Lianzhou and renamed as Lianshan Independent Subprefecture (Lianshan zhiliting, 連山直隸廳) and the officer be renamed as Liaanshan Yao-appeasing Subprefect in charge of civil and military affairs of the Yao (Lianshan suiyao junmin tongzhi, 連山撫瑤軍民同知)(Ibid:367).

2. The Appointments of Yaozhang(瑤長) and Yaolian(瑤練)

Although the Yaozhang and Yaolian were officially

appointed by the Qing government in 1833, the year after the revolt of 1832, it was not the first post appointed by the Han people's government. For instance, the Annal of Lianshan County recorded in 1398 a "Yaoshou" (literally the head of the Yao,瑤首) who led the "Fuyao jiazong"(lit., head of the Yao-pacifying militia,撫瑤甲總) Dynasty(Ibid:51). This can be said to be the beginning of the use of administrative measures by the Han government towards the Pai Yao. However, a comprehensive and detailed plan was forwarded by Xi En(符恩) in 1832.

The original plan regarding the control of the Pai Yao forwarded by Xi En was as follows:

> As the Yao mountains are divided into eight large villages(da pais,大排) and 70 to 80 hamlets(chongs,冲), they are located at the deep mountains and lack any control. A door tablet should be fixed so that it can be checked easily. Thereafter we should instruct the eight villages to elect some mature and knowledge people(laosheng zhixi,老成知事) as Yaolao qianzhang(瑤老千長). They will be selected and then be appointed by the Yao-appeasing office(撫瑤署) and wil manage the affairs of a village. The other small hamlet according to their numbers of household should elect Yaomu(Chief of the Yao,瑤目) for themselves. Clarify which hamlets were

developed from which village and then put them under the supervisor of the Yaolao qianzhang who is in charge of the parent village. Order the Yao-appeasing Subprefect to issue the door tablet in accordance with the household and mark the name of each member on the tablet; no Han villain is allowed to stay and the outcoming Ban Yao(板瑤) are not allowed to settle in the village. Moreover, it is noted that the roads of the Yao mountains are remote and far [from the town], and this causes troublemakers and thieves at large to hide in the villages. Some of the Yao people are involved in litigation with the Han people. All these should be arrested and sent to the office. Each village of the eight villages should add ten Yao-lians to assist the surveillance. They are under the management of the Bazong(把總) of the Lianshan office and always ready for on call. If there is the incidence of guiling with the excuse of public affairs, the qianzhang(千長) are allowed to report the case to the officer and the officer should adjudicate the matter in accordance with the law. If the Yaolao qianzhang and Yaolian can perform their dutie carefully, scrupulously and without mistakes, then the Yao-appeasing Subprefect should award them

separately and give renumeration to them at the end of year (Huang & Liu 1984:447-448).

a) Registration of Households

From the above-quoted document we can see in company with the set up of Yaozhang and Yaolian was the control of household records(户口). The records of household therefore can provide the government with the detail of a household and this can allow the government to know the actual population of the Pai Yao. This will in turn give the government the information of the movement of the Pai Yao population and depending on this kind of information the government could easily decide the policy to deal with the Pai Yao. Moreover, the record also allowed the Qing government to penetrate into various life aspects of the Pai Yao. This indicates the maturity of the Qing dynasty's manipulation on the control of the Pai Yao.

In 1957, Liao Baoyun(廖宝昀) collected two door tablets in Neitian(内田). These two door tablets were issued during the Reign of Guangxu(1875-1908). They were printed on yellow papers 6 inches in length and 12 inches in width. On the place of date of issue a seal of "Officer of the Guangdong Yao-managing Regiment" was stamped. The content of the door tablets included: (1) reason of issuing the door tablet; (2) name of the householder, his occupation and his lineage; (3) names

of the members of the household;(4) names of the landlord, the hill owner (shanzhu, 山主) and the neighbourhood; (5) date of issue and seal of the issuing officer(Editorial committe 1987:148).

b) The Selection of Yaozhang and Yaolian

According to Xi En's memorial, Yaozhang was elected by the Pai Yao themselves and then selected and appointed by the Yao-appeasing Subprefect. No method regarding the selection of Yaolian had been mentioned. It seems that the Qing government was more concerned with the selection of Yaozhang than that of Yaolian. According to the Annals of Lianshan Yao-appeasing Office, there were 18 Yaozhangs and 64 Yaolians in 1833. Each Yaozhang received 3 taels of silver per month as renumeration while each Yaolian received 1.5 taels (Yao 1974:44-45). In 1837, there were 21 Yaozhangs and 70 Yaolians. The distribution of them are as follows:

Table 4

Number of Yaozhang and Yaolian in 1873

Location	H	P	Y-Z	Y-L
Huashaopai (火烧排)	361	1,100	2	8
Dazhangpai (大掌排)	360	1,865	2	8
Libadong (里八洞)	62	473	2	8
Majianpai (马鉴排)	29	149	1	4
Junliaopai	754	1,188	2	8

(軍寮排)				
Youlingpai (油嶺排)	411	2,004	2	8
Litoutong (犁头棠)	404	?	1	2
Hangxiang (行祥)	290	1,188	2	8
Hengkeng (橫坑)	24	84	1	4
Panxue daping (潘血大坪)	33	122	1	2
Huangdiyuan (黃帝源)	18	40	1	2
Damugen (大木根)	63	312	1	4
Liuan ( )	84	401	2	2
Litoutang (犁头棠)	147	692	1	2
Total			21	70

According to the Annals of Lianshan County, the distribution was as follows (year unknown):

Table 5

The Number of Yaozhang and Yaolian
(Year unknown)

Location	H	P	Y-Z	Y-L
Dazhuwan (大竹湾)	11	37	2	8
Shangxiling (上西岭)	15	35	2	2
Daguao (大寸凹)	122	315	2	8
Dalidi (大栗地)	46	259	1	4
Xinpai (新排)	13	55	1	4
Youlingpai (油嶺排)	510	2,143	2	8
Hangxiang (行祥)	648	2,832	2	8
Hengkeng (橫坑)	24	84	1	4
unknown	?	?	1	4
Maoerping	6	24	1	2

(猫儿冲)				
Panxuechong (盘血冲)	33	313	1	2
Shangdiyuan (上堂源)	18	40	1	2
Huoshaozhai (火烧寨)	14	56	1	2
Total			18	54

Note: H=No. of household; P=No. of population
Y-Z=No. of Yaozhang Y-L=No. of Yaolian

The Yaozhangs, according to C.B. Lee's research (Lee 1939:363-364), were elected by popular consent, and they were directly responsible to the people. They had to be clear-minded, fair and possessed the ability to express their thoughts to the understanding of the people. The seat might not be hereditary, though the seat, once held, might be retained for a life time. Deposition might take place as a result of unfair play. However, another research carried out in 1959 (Editorial committee 1987:66) shows that in Nangang 南岗 the seat of Yaozhang was hereditary. The Yaozhang could be removed due to unfair judgement or if unable to express himself to the understanding of the people. Once he was removed, another member of the same fang (lineage, 房) would assure the post and perform the duties. The substitution of Yaozhang was simple: after reporting the substitution to the Yao-appeasing Subprefect by the Yaolian during their meeting in Sanjiang, the new Yaozhang could then exercise his authority. In Dazhang (大掌), the post of Yaozhang might be held for a life time but could also be removed by the public consent. It is worth noting

that at Youling (), the Yaozhangs were elected because they possessed wealth, or because their ancestors had held prominent position in the community (Lee 1939:364). All of them came from the Tang surname. In Nangang (), the Yaozhangs came from the Tang surname () and Deng surname (). There were totally six generations of Yaozhang since the first was appointed up to 1949 (Editorial committee 1987:66). In Dazhang (), the Yaozhangs were elected from the Deng and Tang surnames (Ibid:267).

As to the election of the Yaolian, the procedure was different from that of in Yaozhang. In Youling, each of the Yao-lians was chosen from the first eight fangs (lineage,) whose members had to be strong, which meant that the fangs must have a great number of members or held traditional importance in managing of affairs of the people. Upon the death of the Yaolian, the seat was transferred to another member of the same fang as the deceased, except that when one fang was supplanted by another a different name was used (Lee 1939: 364). In Nangang, the whole village was divided into ten bing (). One Yaolian was elected from each bing (). Yaolian could be replaced and was not hereditary (Editorial committee 1987:66). In Dazhang, there were also ten Bings, from which 8 Yaolians were alternatively chosen. There was reselection every three years and the Yaolians could be re-elected.

c) The Duties of Yaozhang and Yaolian

According to Xi En's original plan, the duty of the Yaozhang was to manage the affairs of a village while the Yaolian was in charge of surveillance and arrests. But there were slight differences when putting into practice.

In Youling, a saying was prevailing:"'You si noi Tu Mu (i.e. Tau Muk Kung) (), Kien si noi Tam Kien (i.e. the Yao-zhang) ()" (Lee 1939:364). This means that all affairs concerning the Yao people themselves are to be settled by the Toumugong (), and that all affairs concerning the relation of the Yao people and the Han are to be settled by the Yaozhangs and Yaolians (Lee 1939:364). In Nangang, the Yaozhangs were in charge of all affairs in the village. They also worked as liaision officers in contact with the office at Sanjiang. They received their renumeration from the office (Editorial committee 1987:67). In Dazhang, the duty of Yaozhang was to assist the Yao office to settle the conflicts and affairs between the Han and the Yao people. If there was great conflict among the Yao people report to the office was required and help from the Yaozhang was then needed (Ibid:268).

The duties of Yaolian mainly concerned security. For instance, in Dazhang, they had to assist Yaozhangs in carrying out their duties: assist the Tianchanggong ( ) to arrest thieves. In case warfare broke out

between villages, they had to work as guards during the armistice period. Their own duties were managing the public affairs of their own bings. They received their renumeration from the office at Sanjiang (Ibid:268). In Nangang, the Yaolian was in charge of affairs of the bing.

d) The Authority of Yaozhang and Yaolian

We must remember that it was the Qing government's policy to appoint Yaozhang and Yaolian to manage the affairs of the Pai Yao villages. Actually , the Pai Yao had their own traditional system to take care of their own affairs. This system is commonly known as the "Yao seniors system" (Yaolaozhi, 瑤老制).

In this system, the Yao seniors were elected by consensus of the general public of the Pai Yao to take care of the public affairs of their villages. The affairs included maintaining social order in and between Yao villages, resolving conflicts and feuds, supervising productive activities and religious activities. We should note that each Pai Yao village was an independent political unit. They did not have an organization or unit to unite their villages. In other words, each Pai Yao village was the largest political unit and there was no political organization above the village level. Only in exceptional situations, such as matters involving the common interest of the villages or if the villages were under attacks by their enemy, would

a joint village meeting or conference be held by the leader of each village. The joint village conference of the five main villages was known as "Xintang Conference" (a name derived from the place where the conference was held) while the joint conference of eight villages was known as "Baishidong Conference". The conference only discussed matters concerning self-defense and was temporary in nature. They could not interfere in the internal affairs of each village which were handled by their own Yao seniors (Li 1986:158-159).

Tianchanggong (literally, chief of the village天長公) was the leader of a village. There was only one Tianchanggong in each village. He was in charge of civilian matters, reconciling conflicts and external liaison. In case of fighting, he was also the military leader of the village. The term of the post lasted for one year. In Nangang, Tianchanggong was elected from each long alternatively while in Dazhang the election was based on the bing unit (Editorial committee 1985:15-16; Li 1986:159).

Toumugong (literally, head of the village頭目公) was an assistant to the Tianchanggong. He assisted Tianchanggong in all kinds of matters and was responsible for conducting public rallies and religious ceremonies. He was also the leader of productive activities. Toumugong was elected on the basis of long or hu (Editorial committee 1985:16-19).

Xianshenggong (literally, Taoist priest先生公) were scholar-priests and the educated members of the village. They were teachers and priests of the Pai Yao. They had to devote themselves to years of study so that they might acquire the ability to recite the classics from memory. There were no restrictions as to who was allowed to become Xianshenggong (Lee 1939:365).

Fangshuigong (literally, water controller放水公) were elected to take care of the water supply of the village. Some of them were known as Fangtianshuigong (field water controller) who were responsible for the water supply of the paddy fields. Wooden trunks were built in the village to convey water from the sources in accordance with the need of each village. For instance, there were six wooden trunks in Nangang so that that there were six Fangshuigangs in the village (Lee 1988:159; Lee 1939:367).

Zhangmiaogong (literally, temple caretaker掌廟公) were responsible for taking care of temples in the village and conducting religious sacrifices (Ibid).

Usually, the Yao seniors received tiny rewards, such as rice and cotton, for performing their duties. They were not full time professionals. They still had to participate in cultivation or other productive activities in order to earn a living (Editorial committee 1985:17).

This system was not replaced by the establishment of Yaozhang and Yaolian. They were, in fact, functioning

coincidentally and in many cases, the authority of the traditional system overweighed the authority of Yaozhang and Yaolian. Yaozhang and Yaolian could never decide everything by themselves. They had to take the advice of the other Yao elders and even the opinion of the Yao people.

For example, in Nangang, if anything happened in the village, it was still the Toumugong (头目公) who was responsible for assembling the villagers. The settlements of cases relied on the discussion of the Yao elders and any resolution was still reached by public assembly. The traditional customary law was still in force. It was only because the Yaozhangs and Yaolians were supported by the Qing government and received constant renumeration from the Qing government that they were more wealthy than the general public. Moreover, their connections with the non-Yao people and knowledge of the Han dialect made the general public of the Pai Yao think that they were capable and authoritative. This is revealed in that if case something happened, most of the Pai Yao would complain to them first; in case adjudication was required, Yaozhang and Yaolian were the people to speak first; they participated in every affair no matter of what the seriousness. They also relied on their position to extort handling charges (辦費) from the Pai Yao when they were dealing with various matters (Ibid:67). In

Dazhang, when assisting to handle the dispute between the Han and the Yao people or among the Yao, the Yaozhang could not make decision by himself. He had to obtain the consent of the respectable elders in the village otherwise no people would support him (Ibid:268). Lee recorded the work of the Yaozhang when warfare between the villages had broken out:

> The work of the Yao Chang is extremely simple, unlike the complications with which a modern general is confronted. He calls the people together, and inquires into the causes, and settles the trouble if possible. But if the majority of the people is against his decision, the Yao Chang must yield to the demand of the people. He awards prizes to those who capture or kill any of the enemy. He calls the people together and tell them what to do, but generally the people act on their own initiative. He conducts the peace negotiation (Lee 1939:367).

3. Other Establishments

a) Bing (literally, militia unit, 兵)

There are few written records regarding the structure of bing in the Pai Yao villages. In Nangang, the whole village was divided into 10 bings. Each bing elected one Yaolian to manage the affairs of the bing

(Editorial committee 1987:66). But in Dazhang the situation was slightly different. The bing was related to the maintenance of security. Totally ten people were chosen from the whole village to constitute the bing organization. As there were only two surnames at Dazhang, five people from each surname (Tang and Deng) were elected. Among these two surnames, the male members aged over 18 were qualified to be elected. The organization was totally obligatory and was distributed to each lineage in accordance with the number of the members of households. The adjustment and election were held every three years (Ibid:287).

b) Hu (households, a tax unit,戶)

Just like the bing, there are few records about the hu organization. The village where this kind of organization existed was Dazhang. The division of hu was in correspondence with the occupancy of field land. Hu was part of the taxation system. Adjustment was carried out every 3 years or 5 years. In the past, the Deng surname had five hus while the Tang only had three. The total hu existing in the village was eight (Ibid:266).

D. EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

If a government intends to employ a policy of assimilation, I will say that education is one of the most efficient means especially when it is closely related to the ascendancy of status in the society.

Through various kinds of teachings the government or ruling class can simply implant the ideology, value and world-view of the dominant group into the minds of the children of the subordinate group. Education starting in early childhood can function as a substantial part of the socialization process and have profound influence in forming the children's personality and value system. When the procedure goes through one or two generations, the effect of education can obviously be observed. As the Pai Yao were always treated as uncivilized people, it is apt for us to think that the Qing dynasty would assimilate them and introduce them into the hall of civilization. However, contrary to our expectations, it is surprising to see that the Qing government did not put as much effort in carrying out the assimilation work as we, or at least I, have thought. Although some of the officials did carry out some educational programs with a view to assimilate the Pai Yao most of these programs ceased to run for different reasons. This phenomena can be noted when we deal with relevant documents.

We face some difficulties when dealing with the educational work of the Qing Dynasty towards the Pai Yao. One of them is that we only have very limited records concerning the educational work carried out in the Pai Yao area. The other one is that these records are so incomplete and short that we can only obtain very limited information about the work of the Qing Dynasty.

In spite of that, records in hand did reveal the passive attitude of the Qing government in providing educational opportunities to the Pai Yao. I wonder if the traditional view that governments of the Han people were keen to assimilate the neighboring non-Han people is valid.

During the Qing Dynasty, various kinds of school were set up in areas occupied by the Pai Yao. These schools included "Yao school" (Yaoxue, 瑶学), "Official school"(Guanxue, 官学) and "Charitable school" (Yixue, 义学). The government provided the schools with teachers and all the necessary expenses. It is known that some of the Yao students attending these schools had achieved good results in the civil examinations (Zhao 1986:173). However, most of these Yao students who could attend school and sit the civil examination were actually the "Cooked Yao" (Shu Yao, 熟瑶), "Civilian Yao" (Min Yao, 民瑶), "Plain Yao" (Pingdi Yao, 平地瑶). Most of them were settled down near the Han people and had a relatively advanced economic life when compared with their fellow ethnic group. To those highlanders or mountain dwellers, such as the Pai Yao, condition were not as favourable (Zhang 1986:173).

1. The Aim of Education

The ultimate purpose of setting up schools in the Pai Yao region was to pacify the Pai Yao and to civilize

them (Ibid:174). Some of the relevant documents reveal this message clearly. For example, in 1735, the government instructed that official schools should be set up in counties of the Guangdong Province where the Yao had been settled. The establishment of these schools for the Yao people was to (1)train them with the official language (xunyi guanyin,訓以官音); (2)teach them etiquette and righteousness (jiaoyi liyi,教以礼義); (3)learn the literacy (xuewei wenxi,学為文字) (Liu & Huang 1984:490)

The first aim, "to train them with official language" was intended to facilitate communication between the government and the Pai Yao. But it also implied the government's contempt for the language of the Pai Yao which was frequently treated as "sound of savage". It further implied that the official language was a correct speech or human language and imitating the official pronunciation was then a symbol of civilization. The second aim on the one hand denied the value of the Pai Yao and, on the other hand showed them the way of civilization--a display of ethnocentrism. This aim, as the first aim, was intended to civilize the minority group. Literacy is one of the criteria of civilization held by the Han people and the government. Therefore, to integrate the minority group into the family of civilization, they have to obtain literacy.

2. Types of School

There is no complete record which directly mentioned the education system carried out in the Pai Yao region. However, two documents did simply mention the types of school set up in the counties where the Pai Yao lived.

a) Official School (Guanxue, 官學)

According to a resolution made in 1735, any county of eastern Guangdong Province where the minority groups including the Yao people had been settled in their area should set up official schools like that of Lian County (Lianzhou, 連州). From this record we can infer that before 1735 an official school had been set up for the Yao people in Lian County. As the Pai Yao were also settled in the County, it is possible that they were also entitled to receive the education provided by the government. The edict further ordered that the officer in charge and relevant officers should be responsible for selecting righteous teachers who could speak the Yao dialect from the among the Han Chinese living on the plains. The office in charge was responsible for the renumeration of the teachers. They had to select the outstanding children of the Yao to attend the school. The teachers should lead the students to the office in Lian County to listen and study the Emperor's edicts. They had to explain in detail the spirit of the law and

make the students understand the content so that these words could prevail in their villages (Liu & Huang 1984:489-490).

b) Charitable School (Yixue, 義學)

In 1739, Pan Siju (潘思榘) suggested that charitable schools for the Yao, and other minorities should be set up and permission should also be given to these people to sit the civil examination (Ibid: 490-491).

3. The Achievement of the Educational Works

It can be said that the Qing Dynasty's education policy towards the Yao people was a failure. Although there is rarely any record one piece of evidence does tell us the schools did not achieve their aim of providing education let alone encouraging assimilation.

In the Veritable Records of the Gaozong Emperor (Gaozong huangdi shilu, 高宗皇帝實錄) it was recorded that the Yao schools in the Lian and nearby counties were abolished because no Yao children attended these schools. No further information about education is known after the Qianlong Reign (1736-1795. It can be inferred that as education was not an important part of the Qing government's policy of control of the Yao people, few records are available.

It is not difficult to understand why the educational work failed or why the Yao children were not

keen to attend school. As all the Yao people were engaged in cultivation, it was of no use for them to acquire literacy. In their community, high standard literacy meant nothing to them. They could acquire necessary knowledge of literacy through the traditional Yao education system, i.e. the teaching of Xianshenggong (Taoist priests, 先生公) and anything more than that would mean nothing to them. Moreover, even if they attended school and passed the civil examination it was still difficult for them to participate in the society of the Han people. Furthermore, it has been noted that the Pai Yao had a high mortality rate due to insufficient food and poor living condition. Most of the Yao children had to participate in subsistence activities at an early age. It was not possible for them to spare valuable time to learn something that was irrelevant to their immediate problem-- food -- a matter of life and death.

4. The Educational Works of Li Laizhang

It is worth noting that a more complete record regarding the education work carried out in the Pai Yao region was recorded by Li Laizhang. Li was once the magistrate of Lianshan County. During his administration, he carried out a series of educational programs to educate the Pai Yao. Most of his work was documented in his book, Notes on Customs of the Bapai in

Liannan (Liannan bapai fengtu ji,連南八排風土記).

He first burnt the religious books of the Pai Yao and exiled the Xianshenggong (先生公). To him, the Yao religious books and Xianshenggong were the cause of the Yao revolt. He saw the religious books as ridiculous and the Xianshenggong as agitators who aroused the Yao people's passion against the Han people and government. To civilize and change the nature of the Pai Yao, he then had to burn and destroy these religious -books and replace them with other teachings or Confucian classics (Li & Fang 1987:232).

Secondly, he prepared 16 tablets which recorded the teaching and edicts of the Emperor. The leaders of the Pai Yao were instructed to bring these tablets to the villages and explain the content of the edicts to their fellow villagers. Moreover, he also employed teachers to go to the Yao villages to teach the Pai Yao children. Every season, these students had to visit the office in Lian county and dictate what they had learned. If the officer found their performace satisfactory, they would be rewarded with pens, fruits and biscuits (Ibid:233).

Li also furnished the Yao villages with money to build a Edict bower (shengyu ting, 聖諭亭). It was ordered that once the bower was built the Yao children should bring with them their chairs and tables so that they could study within the bower. They had to memorize 60 emperor's edicts and the relevant explanatory song

which was known as Three-word-song (sanxi ge, 三字歌) (Ibid:233). Moreover, he also set up the "Lianshan Academy" in Lianshan County. This college admitted Han and Yao students and taught them the teachings of the Confucians of the Song and Ming Dynasties (Ibid:237).

As to the effect of Li's work, I am of the opinion that it is difficult to make a judgement due to insufficient documentation. Zhao Jiawang based on the poem written by Li Laizhang inferred that Li's work had produced some efficacy. He inferred that his work had been accepted by the Pai Yao and thus caused some changes in their spiritual life (Zhao 1988:247). I doubt the efficacy of his educational programs. I think it is too ideal to presume the Yao children could attend studies everyday especially when we take the subsistence need of the Pai Yao into consideration. Even nowadays the education carried out by the Chinese government has faced many problems. One of them is the low attendance rate of the Yao children. It seems that there is always a conflict between participating in production activity or attending school.

E. TAXATION SYSTEM

We face the same problem here as we faced when discussing the educational aspect of the Qing Dynasty's policy towards the Pai Yao. Almost all of the records are incomplete and difficult to trace the exact dates.

1. Categories of Tax

During the Qing Dynasty, taxes were paid either by silver or by agricultural products such as rice or soya bean.

In Neitian, there was only Semi tax (grain tribute 色米) in 1851. In 1862, the category of tax was increased to three kinds: Semi (色米), Silver-in-lieu-of-grain (qianliang, 钱粮) and field tax (tianshui, 田税). During the Guangxu Reign (1875-1908), hill tax was added in to the category.

2. Method of Assessment

It is known that there were two ways to assess the tax in the Pai Yao villages.

In Dazhang (大掌), it was known that each Pai (village) had a fixed amount of tax. In a village the households were divided into eight hus (户), in accordance with their lineages. Every 3 or 5 years the number of the households would be adjusted so as to match the decrease or increase of the field area. The tax was divided in accordance with the number of hu (户) and equally born by each household in the hu. If a family had paid more tax than the fixed amount due to the increase of the field area, the overpaid amount would be saved for buying more fields. This kind of field was known as Hu field (huzhangtian, 户长田). Hu fields were managed by a Hu master (huzhanggong, 户长公)

who was elected from the hu to collect tax. The field was alternatively cultivated by those taxpayers (Editorial committee 1987:256).

In Nangang, the tax was originally paid in accordance with the title deed for land (dizhao, 地照). But the deed was lost at a later time therefore the tax unit was revised to bing (丁). Each bing was responsible for 18 jin (斤) of soya bean and that means each household was responsible for four taels. The whole village(Pai) was responsible for 120 jin (斤) (Ibid:55).

3. Method of Collection

During the early period of the Qing Dynasty, tax was collected by the Han officials. They visited the hamlets and villages and urged the Pai Yao to pay the tax before the due date. For example Li Laizhang had once made a notice to advise the Pai Yao to pay the tax and grain before the limited period of time otherwise they would be punished (Li & Fang 1987:248). However, tax collection created opportunities for the petty officials to become corrupt. The petty officials extort or demanded extra payment when collecting tax. This caused discontent among the Pai Yao. In order to avoid the conflict aroused by the extortion of petty officials, the practice was amended in 1832.

Xi En in his provision for resettlement submitted to the Daoguang Emperor (1821-1850) suggested that in order to avoid extortion the Yaozhang should lead the

Yao people to the office and pay the tax and grain to the office directly. The petty officials were not allowed to urge the Yao people to pay the tax and grain.

In Nangang, it was known that the Toumugong was responsible for collecting the tax from each household and then handed it to the Yaozhang who would pay that to the office.

It is worth noting that a Han surnamed Liao in Lian county had the right to collect tax. According to a legend, the Pai Yao were first taken to Lianyang area by a Mr. Liao who held a governmental capacity. Thereafter the Liao surname became the hillowner of the Pai Yao. The offspring of Mr. Liao were entitled to collect tax from the Pai Yao. This practice lasted from 1703 up to 1939 (Huang & Liu 1984: 399 ; Lee 1939:418). According to Lee's report, the Inner Five villages' taxes (Majian, Junliao, Libadong, Huoshaopai and Dazhang) were collected by the office in Lianshan County whereas the taxes of the Outer Three villages (Youling, Hengkeng and Hangxiang) were collected by the Liao surname (Lee 1939:418).

F. THE WORKS OF INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS

Previous sections or chapters give a panorama of the Qing Dynasty's policy towards the Pai Yao. However, I am of the opinion that particular officers and their works also have a specific influence on the relations of

the Han and the Yao people. Of these officers, Li Laizhang and Xi En most deserve further description.

1. Li Laizhang (李来章)

Most of his works were recorded in his book, Notes on Customs of the Bapai in Liannan (Liannan Bapai Fongtu Ji) (Li & Fang 1987:179-277). He concluded the principles of his policy towards the Pai Yao as follows:

1) Education (Jiao,教): burning the religious books, writing the exposition for the Emperor's edicts, lecturing the same and recruiting Han teachers to teach the Yao students.

2) Feeding (Yang,養):encouraging cultivation and plantation, both by ways of advice and reward.

3) Military (Bing,兵): training village guards (tuanlian xiangting) and keep the strategic locations under surveillance strategic points.

4) Punishment (Ying, 刑): guilt would not be indulged and must be punished (Ibid:230).

Based on these principles, his works, according to Zhao Jiawang (1988:244-254), can be classified into seven categories. However, I think these can be simplified into five categories.

Firstly, setting up an academy and teaching the Yao students. As mentioned in previous section, the Yao people did not have their own school. The only opportunity of obtaining literacy was learning from the

Taoists (Xianshenggong, 先生公) and religious books. However, Li treated both Taoists and religious books as the causes of the Yao riots. He therefore burnt the books and exiled the Taoists. He also invited Han people who knew the Yao language to teach the Yao students. Most of the content of the text books came from the Confucian scholars' works. He also set up a "Lianshan Academy" and accepted the Yao children as student (Li & Fang 1987:232-240).

Secondly, encouraging the Pai Yao to cultivate tea, trees or develop forestry. Li was assigned to his position in the Lianshan County after the 1702 riot. The life of the Yao people after the riot was very hard and their production activities were also disturbed by this riot. Li made a deep analysis of the Pai Yao's ecological setting and productivity and concluded that it would be more beneficial for the Pai Yao to cultivate tea, fruit and trees. The actual measures put forward by him included (1) defining the ownership. That meant harvest went to the cultivators. (2) setting up production targets. For example, an adult male should plant an acreage of tea, an acreage of oil tree, 40 mulberry, 40 timbers and 50 bamboos. (3) Punishing and rewarding:those who could complete the production target would be rewarded while those who were lazy and refused to plant would be punished (Zhao 1988:248).

Thirdly, punishing extortion so as to relieve the conflicts between the Yao and the Han people. Some of

the examples have been mentioned in the previous section.

Fourthly, advising the Yao people to remove to flat land. Li understood the difficulty of living at high altitudes. He encouraged the Pai Yao to move out of the mountainous region to lowland. He even promised them an exemption of tax for three years if they did move to the lowland (Li & Fang 1987:262-263).

Fifthly, training the village guards. Most of these measures have been mentioned in previous section.

2. The Works of Xi En

Xi En's work can be seen in his memorial to the Daoguang Emperor (1821-50), known as Resettlement Provision for the Extermination of the Yao (Jiaoyao shanhou zhangchong shu, 剿瑤善後章程疏) (Ibid:35-39). He summarized his suggestion into eight points. Except one for point, the others influenced the Pai Yao directly.

Firstly, strengthening the role of officers (zhong guanshou, 重官守). As the officer in charge had a special role in controlling the Pai Yao, he suggested the position be filled by those who were familiar with the Yao people. The officer would be in charge of all affairs and should carry out his duty fairly (Ibid:36).

Secondly, disciplining the military (shu yingwu, 肅營伍). Although battalions and regiments were set up in the Pai Yao region, some of the vacancies had not been

filled. He suggested providing sufficient soldiers to fill the vacancy. The soldiers could not leave their battalions or regiments without permission, cover up misbehavior or exploit the Yao people.

Thirdly, perfecting the appeasement of the Yao people (shan fuyu, 善撫). As the Yao and the Han people lived near to each other, quarrels were easily aroused between them. Moreover, the Yao people were easily cheated by the Han people when they visited the market place. Xi thus suggested setting up a Yao market place in the Pai Yao region so as to promote trade. However, if the Yao people were willing to visit the Han market place or the Han people to the Yao market, they would be permitted. It was the Yaozhang and Laneleader's (Lizhang, 里長) responsibility to take a close eye on them. Furthermore, petty officials were not allowed to collect or urge the Yao people to pay tax. The Yaozhangs were responsible for leading the Pai Yao to pay tax to the office direct so to avoid the extortion of the petty officials (Ibid:36).

Thirdly, enforcing statutory orders (yan jinling, 嚴禁令). In order to avoid the Han people cheating the Pai Yao, it was ordered that the property of the Yao could only be sold to the Yao people. Those previously sold to the Han people should be returned to the Yao people if they had sufficient fund to buy them back. No bird gun was allowed to be imported to the Pai Yao regions.

Fourthly, punishing the wicked Han people. Xi was

of the opinion that although the Pai Yao were fierce but they were actually stupid. It was these wicked Han people that cheated them and caused the Yao people to riot. The officer in charge was advised to pay heed to these wicked Han people and punish them heavily if they were under arrest.

Fifthly, combing battalions and regiments (bing xunqia,併詢). Although there were 36 battalions (xun,汛) in the Yao region the force was too scattered according to Xi En's opinion . He suggested combining some battalions and stationing the troops in some more strategic locations. He also suggested setting up "forts" in the strategic locations.

Finally, registering households (bian zhaihu, 編寨). In order to have a tight control on the flow of the Yao people, he suggested that each household should have a door tablet. He further suggested appointing the Yao seniors who were known as Yaozhang and Yaolian. Details of this have been mentioned in the previous section.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE QING DYNASTY'S PAI YAO POLICY

Among the various theories and models put forward by anthropologists, I think the most valuable one in relation to our study of the Qing Dynasty's policy towards the Pai Yao is the phenomena and problem of pluralism and plural societies.

According to R. Jenkins(1986), this model emerged out of social anthropology's linked concerns with "social groups as the basic unit of analysis and with process of social integration" and the notion of pluralism arose as a response to two separate problems:

> The first concerned those colonial territories which, like many British possessions in Africa and elsewhere, were governed by means of a system of indirect rule, through native courts and chiefs, for example. In situations such as this, different groups of people were integrated into the administrative framework through different sets of institutions and conflicting bodies of custom and law. How was one to conceptualise the convergence of these distinct institutional systems--one(or more than one) for the tribes people, another(or others) for the Europeans and the urbanised intermediate groups--into one integrated social system? The second problem had to do

> with those colonial states which were, by contrast, basically unitary institutional systems for the purposes of politics and government. In such systems the native peoples, although contained within and controlled by the state, were rarely. if at all, considered to be jurally adult members of the polity. As the twentieth century drew towards its mid-point there were signs that this situation was about to change: black people, in short, were increasingly moving from subjection to citizenship. The meek, it appeared, were about to (re)inherit their earth. What would be the political structure of the resultant new nation-states?(Ibid:179)

Although the situation in which the Qing Dynasty carried out its Pai Yao policy was totally different from the "colonial situation" created by the European colonial powers, they both faced the same problem: the convergence of distinct institutional systems into one integrated socio-political system. It is on this dimension that we may borrow their conceptual framework and ideas and even elaborate their framework in the light of China situation.

To Jenkins, these writers who talk about pluralism are talking about the incorporation of different ethnic groups or collectilvities into one societal or state

system(Ibid:180).

Schermerhorn (1978) points out that the word "pluralism" is plagued with many meanings in the writings of social scientists and there are at least four uses of the term can be distinguished:

1) An ideological designation: it is a sort of doctrinal belief usually ascribed to an ethnic minority group whose members assert the desirability of preserving their way of life even though it differs markedly from that of the dominant or majority group. He proposed an alternative term and speaks of it as "normative pluralism".
2) A political designation: as used by the political scientists especially, it refers to the multiplicity of autonomous interest group and associations which bring pressure to bear on the making and implementing of political decisions through political parties, lobbies, or the use of mass media. He refers to this as "political pluralism".
3) A cultural designation: this refers to ethnic groups which come into focus when one or more have a language, religion, kinship forms, nationality, tribal affiliation, and for other traditional norms and values embodied in patterns that set them off from dominant or majority

groups.

4) A structural designation: a multicultural or multiethnic society is by implication a society with plural structural units. These units have different cultures or subcultures and, correctively, are segmented or compartmentalized into "analogous, parallel, non-complementary, but distinguishable sets of institutions" (van den Berghe, 1967 mimeo,3), at least in their most pronounced form. Such societies with plural structures form a continuum (Ibid:122-125).

Leo Kuper also distinguishes two traditions in regard to the nature of societies characterized by pluralism. The first tradition is expressed in the theory of the plural society. In this tradition, "the stability of plural societies is seen as precarious and threatened by sharp cleavages between different plural sections, whose relations to each other are generally characterized by inequality". He named this type of theory as a "conflict model of plural societies" which was derived from J.S. Furnivall, who applied this concept to tropical societies(Kuper & Smith 1969:7). The second tradition is "much older, and offers a conception(or ideal type) of the pluralistic society, in which the pluralism of the varied constituent groups and

interests is integrated in a balanced adjustment, which provides conditions favorable to stable democratic government. He named this theory an "equilibirum model of pluralism" (Ibid:7-8).

It is Furnivall's idea of "plural society" that deserves our discussion.

A.CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1. J.S. Furnivall: plural society

Furnivall was the first person to distinguish the plural society as a separate form of society(Smith 1965:75). To him, the evolution of plural society is an obvious and outstanding result of contact between East and West. It has a great variety of forms, "but in some form or other it is the distinctive character of modern tropical economy" (Furnivall 1956:305).

The common political form of all tropical dependencies and indeed all tropical countries, or what he called "the plural society" is, "one of colonial domination, which imposes a Western superstructure of business and administration on the native world, and a forced union on the different sections of the population"(Kuper & Smith 1969:10; Furnivall 1956:305). There are three characteristic features in the political aspect of a plural society:"the society as a whole comprises separate racial sections; each section is an aggregate of individuals rather than a corporate or organic whole; and as individuals their social life is

incomplete" (Furnivall 1956:306).

As to the social basis of the plural society, he had made a vivid description:

> In Burma, as in Java, probably the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples--Europeans, Chinese, Indian and native. It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market-place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere there is a division of labour along racial lines (Ibid:304).

That means economic symbiosis and mutual avoidance, cultural diversity and social cleavage, characterize the social basis of the plural society(Kuper & Smith 1969:11).

To Furnivall, the economic forces are the determinants in creating the plural society which is a modern invention because "only in modern times, have economic forces been set free to remould the social order. In each section ,of the plural society the

sectional common social will is feeble, and in the society as a whole there is no common social will. The plural society arises where economic forces are exempt from control by social will"(Ibid:306-308). There is the possibility of a society with plural features but not a plural society. As mentioned by Furnivall:

> Outside the tropics society may have plural features, notably in South Africa, Canada and the United States, and also in lands where the Jew has not been fully assimilated into social life, in other countries also there are mixed populations with particularist tendencies. But in general these mixed populations have at least a common tradition of western culture, and despite a different racial origin, they meet on equal terms and their relations are not confined solely to the economic sphere. There is a society with plural features, but not a plural society (Furnivall 1956:305).

In regard to the problem of integration, it is obvious that the union of various sections together in a single political unit is not voluntary nor by consensus. It is imposed by the colonial power and the force of economic circumstances. Furnivall emphasised the prevalence of dissensus: there is no common social will. He made a comparison between the confederation of allied states and the plural society, and concluded that:

> In a confederation each unit is segregated

> within its own territorial limits; there is contact between the states but not between their members as individuals; the union is voluntary; the terms of union are definite and limited; and any party can at will withdraw from the confederacy. In a plural society the sections are not segregated; the members of several units are intermingled and meet as individuals; the union is not voluntary but is imposed by the colonial power and by the force of economic circumstances; and the union cannot be dissolved without the whole society relapsing into anarchy (Furnivall 1956:307).

2. Qing Dynasty and the Plural Society: A Comparison

This writer takes the model of plural society as an enlightment that stimulates our understanding of the Pai Yao. Although the interaction between the government, the Han people and the Yao people was not exactly the same as the various sections in the plural society described by Furnivall, their similarity does cast light on our understanding of the functioning of the Qing Dyansty's policy towards the Pai Yao.

Although the political form of the Qing Dynasty was not one of a colonial domination, it was a domination of aliens from the view of the Han people. The Qing Dynasty also comprised various sections within

its polity: various ethnic minorities in the South-east part of its empire, Mongols in the North, Tibetans in the South-west and the majority of Han people. The Manchus dominated and brought those people under their rule with the aid of military force. In order to keep a tight control on these subjugated people, the Manchus imposed various political structures on various sections in accordance with their conditions. For example, the Mongols and the Tibetans were under a special commission and were reorganised by the Qing Dynasty. Even with the Pai Yao we can also note the imposition of this "Manchu superstructure". As mentioned in Chapter 5, the appointments of Yaozhang and Yaolian, hu (户) organization and bing (兵) organization were both imposed by the Qing government, which were intended to control the activity and movement of the Pai Yao. The point we have to remember is that this imposed structure was not the social structure or political structure originating in Manchu society. It was rather an adjustment or remoulding in response to the political needs of the Manchu's rule. Therefore, the similarity of the Qing Dynasty and the plural society lies in the fact that both have imposed a structure of administration "on the native world, and a forced union on the different sections of the population".

With regard to the characteristic features of the political structure, similarity exists between the Qing Dynasty and the plural society. The Qing society as a

whole comprised separate racial sections, more than that, it also comprised many different cultural sections which the Han Chinese traditionally denominated "Man, Yi, Rong and Di". Contrary to the plural society, these groups had their own political structures. Some of them even might be regarded as states. Of course there were also groups which had only simple political structures and uncentralized political authority.

The social basis of the plural society is so similar to the situation during the Qing Dynasty that we can simply borrow part of Furnivall's (1956:304) description without altering a word;

> It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market-place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but seperately, within the same political unit (Furnivall 1956:304).

Using the Han people and the Pai Yao as an example to illustrate the situation, we can say both the Han people and the Yao people were living side by side within the same political unit. They maintained a limited interaction but did not combine. From the

conflicts arising between them we note that their interaction mainly surrounded the economic sphere. The market-place was where they met most frequently. They competed with each other for cattles, lands and other means of production but not for political right, status or education opportunity. Although the Han culture had a substantive influence on the Yao people, the Yao people did not totally assimilate with the Han people. They still maintained their own religion, language, culture, ideas and ways. Despite the imposition on the Yao of people were imposed a series of organizations--Yaozhang, Yaolian, hu and bing--it was still the Pai Yao's own institutions that exerted the decisive influence on their own matters. Even if we look at the relations between the Han people and the Manchus, some measures were implemented to separate them during the early period of the Qing Dynasty. If we only look at Han society, it is undeniable that they were highly integrated. However, should we take the relations between various ethnic minorities into consideration, the plural features as mentioned by Furnivall are distinctive. Therefore, it is justified to say that various sections such as the Miao, Yao, Zhuang, Li were living side by side within the same political unit rather than combining together.

One major theme in Furnivall's model of plural society is the role of economic forces. To him, it is the determinant that created the plural society.

However, he confined the economic forces as a modern invention. Based on this assumption the plural society than become a product of modern invention.

A review of the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao shows that the economic forces also constituted a determinant in maintaining their interaction and relationship. As the Pai Yao and the Han people occupied different ecological niches, the Pai Yao became an economic dependency of the Han people. They relied on the Han people for iron-made tools, technique and daily necessaries. It was the Han people who occupied the fertile paddy field while most of the Pai Yao could only practise dry land cultivation. Therefore, it was the economic forces which drew the Han people and the Pai Yao into interaction. However, it was also the economic forces that caused the Han people and the Pai Yao to conflict. In this sense, the economic forces were performing two contradictory roles: both the cause of integration and the cause of disintegration. However, it is worth noting that the integration and disintegration both occurred within the economic sphere.

In the plural society, according to Furnivall, the integration is imposed by the colonial power and the forces of economic circumstances. The last paragraph has shown that the economic circumstances was the essential factor in creating Han-Yao relations. While discussing the integration into the society, it is the political

factor that exerted a full range effect. In the economic sphere, the interaction between different groups was enforced by necessity and voluntary. But the success of the dimension of political integration is no longer depends on the consensus of various groups but on military force and administrative manipulation or on a process of bureaucratization. Similar to the plural society, the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao did not have a common social will. It was by the establishment of military station and Yaozhang and Yaolian that the Pai Yao were forced to be incorporated into the administrative structure and judicial system of the Qing dyansty.

The above comparison reveals that similar conditions exist between the Qing Dynasty and the plural society defined by Furnivall. Except for the colonial domination, the other aspects are rather similar. In these circumstances, I would suggest that the concept of "plural society" should not be confined only to the tropical colonial societies. It should embrace any society with cultural diversity or racial diversity where the union of these various sections is not voluntary but is imposed by external power and the forces of economic circumstances. These sections live side by side within the same political unit.

After all, the problems faced by the Qing dynasty when dealing with the Pai Yao were similar to those faced by the plural society. In Furnivall's own words:

> The economic problem is the organization of demand, and this must, in the first place, be attempted seperately for each constituent element; whereas the political problem is the integration of society, and this involves not merely the organization of social life within each constituent element but the fitting of all the elements together into one social framework (Furnivall 1939:469).

2. M. G. SMITH: PLURALISM, MODES OF INCORPORATION AND PLURAL SOCIETIES

Based on the idea of the "plural society" put forward by Furnivall, M.G. Smith further developed an analytical framework far more sophisticated than the original one. While Furnivall emphasised the importance of economic forces in the formation of plural society, Smith emphasises the "institutional diversities" which existed among the collectivities of the plural societies. He once called his theory "the method of institutional analysis" which was aimed to deal with the forms and levels of integration within a society (Smith 1965:80).

Recently, he redefined his approach as "plural analysis" and set the aim of the plural analysis as follows (Smith 1984:174):

> it is essential for plural analysis first to concentrate on the prevailing structures of

collective relations and then, within that framework and by their aid, to determine the significance of such conditions and variables as language, race, ethnicity, class(in the Marxist or bourgeois sense), regionalism, history, religion, and so on, separately or together (Smith 1984:174).

a) The Concept of Pluralism

To Smith, institutions are "collective modes of action, organization, and orientation, both normative and cognitive," and " institutional differentiation correspondingly distinguishes collectivities that differs in organization, standardized procedures, norms, beliefs, ideals and expectations"(Smith 1974:206). Societies can thus be classified into three types in accordance with the conditions of institutional homogeneity, institutional heterogeneity and systematic institutional diversity. These types of societies differ significantly in structure, complexity, modes of integration (Ibid:206).

By institutional homogeneity he means the society the people of which shares "a single set of institutions" and "that it is also politically distinct". That means uniformity of the social structure, ideational systems, and action patterns is the essence of this kind of society (Smith 1965:80).

On the other hand, institutional heterogeneity refers to a society the members of which share a common system of basic or complusory institutions but practice differing "alternative" and "exclusive" institutions (Smith 1974:213).

According to Smith's definition, institutional diversity or pluralism involves corresponding cultural and social pluralism. In his early theoretical construction, he defined pluralism as the "condition in which there is a formal diversity in the basic system of compulsory institutions"(Smith 1965:82). The systematic differentiation of basic institutions is the core of Smith's idea of pluralism. He says, institutional pluralism appears when "groups that practice differing institutional systems live side by side under a common government" (Smith 1965:82).

In his later paper, "Institutional and political conditions of pluralism" (1974), Smith defined pluralism as:

> a condition in which members of a common society are internally distinguished by fundamental differences in their institutional practice....Such differences....identify institutionally distinct aggregates or groups, and establish deep social divisions between them. The prevalence of such systematic dissociation between the members of institutional distinct collectivities within a

> single society constitutes pluralism. Thus pluralism simultaneously connotes a social structure characterized by fundamental discontinuities and cleavage, and a cultural complex based on systematic institutional diversity... Pluralism may be defined with equal cogency and precision in institutional or in political terms. Politically these features have very distinctive forms and conditions, and in their most extreme state, the plural society, they constitute a polity of peculiar though variable type. Specific political features of social pluralism centre in the corporate constitution of the total society. Under these conditions, the basic corporate divisions within the society usually coincide with the lines of institutional cleavage (Smith 1974:205).

Plural societies are the extreme expression of pluralism. However, pluralism is not necessary confined to the plural societies. There are possibilities that pluralism prevails outside of plural societies.

Smith (1969:440,444) further distinguished three levels of pluralism that differ sharply in their form, significance and intersity. His summary is as follows:

> We must distinguish three levels or modes of pluralism:structural, social, and cultural. By

itself the last consists solely in institutional differences to which no corporate social differences attach. Social pluralism is the condition in which such institutional differentiations coincide with the corporate division of a given society into a series of sharply demarcated and virtually closed social sections or segments. Structural pluralism consists further in the differential incorporation of specified collectivities within a given society and corresponds with this in its form, scope, and particulars. It institutes or presupposes social and cultural pluralism together, by prescribing sectional differences of access to the common public domain, and by establishing differing contexts and conditions of sectional coexistence, segregation, and subordination...(Smith 1969: 440).

To Smith, modes of pluralism are results of incorporation processes. The modes of incorporation determine the levels of pluralism and also the social structure of the society. Smith therefore treats the modes of incorporation as the core of his plural analysis.

b) Modes of Incorporation

After distinguishing three levels of pluralism, Smith also distinguishs three related modes of incorporation corresponding to each level of pluralism (1984:157-158):

> When cultural pluralism prevails without prescriptive incorporation of culturally distinct collectivities...that condition illustrates the uniform or universalistic incorporation [italics mine]..., directly and on identical terms, thus prescribing their formal equality and freedom to differ among themselves culturally and otherwise within the limits laid down by law, without thereby altering their respective status, rights, and obligations in the public domain. When, however, culturally distinct or regional populations are incorporated segmentally as units of equivalent status [italics mine] within a common public domain, then cultural differences have greater social significance and intensity as direct functions of their institutionalization as conditions of this segmental structure and social pluralism. Finally, when culturally distinct sections are differentially incorporated [italics mine] within the public domain of a common society,

> then structural pluralism prevails and invests the cultural differentiae of the unequal sections with maximum significance and intensity (Smith 1984:157-158).

Modes of incorporation are defined as "bases of societal organization and unity" by Smith. Each mode of incorporation has its distinctive social structure. For example, society incorporated in the mode of differentiation is "constituted as an order of structurally unequal and exclusive corporate sections, that is, as an explicitly plural regime". Society incorporated in the mode of equivalence is "constituted as a consociation of complementary or equivalent, but mutually exclusive, corporate divisions, membership in one of which is prerequisite for citizenship in the wider unit". Society based on the uniform or universalistic incorporation can be said to be established by "a radical political individualism that eliminates intermediary collectives as prerequisite membership units and the sectional organization in which structural pluralism consists is firmly excluded, and citizenship is universalized among individuals" (Smith 1969:441).

Therefore, to Smith, differential incorporation "automatically constitutes societies as amalgams of closed sections or segments that differ in rank, resource, obligation and privilege. It simultaneously proscribes intersectional mobility" (Smith 1974:188).

Along with differential access to the "institutions of common public domain", the various groups enjoy different rights and bear different obligation in the society (Smith 1969:430).

Smith maintains that differential incorporation is often found in multiracial or multiethnic societies, but it is not necessary confined to them (Smith 1969:436)

Smith says that differential incorporation prevails in society where there is a distinct section which dominates the others. The dominant group may employ various means including naked force to maintain their domination, interest and advantage. If the dominant section is also a numerical minority of the population , the structural pluralism prevails in its most extreme form (Ibid:434).

c) The Plural Societies

In 1965, Smith defined plural societies in relation to cultural plurality. He said,"[w]here cultural plurality obtains, different sections of the total population practice different forms of these common institutions..."

By 1969, he redefined the concept of plural societies by relating it to the idea of modes of incorporation(1969:427):

> Plural societies are characterized by the exclusive incorporation of the collectivities

> that compose them, whether these collectivities are defined by practice or by law, and in racial, ethnic, religious, or other terms. Such a structure may have two quite distinct forms. In one form it ordains sectionally unequal distributions of legal, political, and other rights by the differential incorporation of collectivities within it. In the other, though coordinate and equally autonomous, its component sections constitute mutually exclusive collectivities of primary importance in law, political, and citizenship alike (Ibid:427)

To Smith, plural societies are "the purest expression and the most profound effects" of pluralism. The subjugated majority of the population in a plural society may or may not share a single common system of institutions; often the people are internally subdivided by their differing institutional practice and organization from the discrete minority who rule them (Smith 1969:29).

It is noteworthy that Smith emphasizes the distinctive feature of plural societies is their domination by a cultural minority. As he says, "in the plural society, a politically autonomous unit ruled by a culturally distinct and politically privileged minority, the sole institutional framework that incorporates the aggregate is government, which normally has the form of

a state. Whether it is redistributive or market-based, the economy of such a unit includes the population differentially" (Smith 1969:36).

Recently, he excludes the culturally distinct demographic minority as a necessary condition of plural societies (Smith 1984:152):

> In the broadest sense, then, any society whose members are incorporated into mutually exclusive categories or groups distinguished by such differentiae as race, language, religion, ethnicity, provenience, or descent will exhibit social or structural pluralism and constitute a plural society (Ibid:152).

In plural society, there is a " primary institutional bifurcation" between rulers and ruled. Among the subjugated population there may be several "secondary cultural divisions". To reduce threats to their domination, the dominant group may through their political organization discourage or suppress extensive organization by which the subject population may organize themslves to effect political and social action (Smith 1969:32).

With regard to the role of the state, Smith maintains that the state is "the representative political organ of the ruling section" and is an "exclusive and ultimate instrument for the internal domination and corporate control of the institutionally

distinct subject population." To Smith, subject populations in plural society are denied "political right, citizenship, and opportunities for their own organization" (Smith 1969:33). He says (1969),

> [t]hus in the plural society the mass of the people are not citizens but subjects; and the state, instead of being the collective political expression of the inclusive aggregate, is merely the external political form of the dominant corporate group, the instrumental framework of its domination, and the ultimate source and expression of prevailing sectional inequality; since such a society is established by specifically political action, its boundaries, composition, form, order, continuity, and developmental capacities are all politically codeterminate (Smith 1969:33).

Moreover, he also includes mode of incorporation in the concept of plural societies and distinguishes three types of plurality (1984:158):

> Hierarchic pluralities are based on the differential incorporation of distinct social sections in the common public domain under conditions of principled inequality. They accordingly illustrate extreme conditions of structural pluralism, the more so when their dominant sections are also demographic

minorities. Segmental pluralities are those in which the major cultural divisions are incorporated as segments that enjoy coordinate status and autonomy by law, constitution, tradition, or otherwise, formally or informally,....Segmental pluralities prescribe participation of culturally distinct segments as equals and partners in the common public domain, and accordingly illustrate social pluralism with minimal structural inequalities...complex pluralities, hierarchic and segmental patterns of organization are combined....In such conditions one section of the population, which is culturally and/or racially distinct, dominates the rest under institutions of differential incorporation. The dominated people normally include two or more culturally distinct collectivities incorporated as segments of coordinate status. Additionally among the dominated, social sections may be incorporated and ranked as superior and inferior by history and/or at the will of the dominant group...(Smith 1984:158).

B. THE DIFFERENTIAL INCORPORATION OF THE HAN CHINESE AND THE PAI YAO

A brief review can show that the Han and the Yao people were incorporated into the Qing regime on systematically unequal terms, and most of these incorporations were established, maintained and enforced by the political motivation of the Manchu rulers. These Manchu rulers, in order to establish their legitimacy to rule, determined to follow the Confucian code and Chinese political structure. For example, the Manchus succeeded in maintaining their power by traditional Confucian means for as long as a period as any Chinese dynasty. The Qing Dynasty was in fact a Sino-"barbarian" empire, politically speaking, which normally included China and parts or all of Inner Asia(Fairbank 1987:24). Realizing this fact may help us understand the Qing dynasty's policy towards the Pai Yao and relevant differential incorporation carried out by them to unite various groups into a single political unit.

When the Manchus entered North China and assumed the Mandate of Heaven they fully recognized their fundamental problem was "how to rule in the Chinese way but maintain their identity as Manchus" (Fairbank 1958:80). This problem in turn laid the foundation of differential incorporation to be carried out by the Manchu rulers. Their first priority was by every means to hold on power. Their great campaigns were conducted for the killing of rebels or neutralizing of dissidents

wherever they could be found (Fairbank 1987:19). As long as they followed the Chinese way in politics, the Manchu emperors were supposed to represent the Son of Heaven's benevolent intent to give the people peace and order and thereby retain the mandate as long as they could suppress rebellion(Ibid:32). Holding on to power and suppressing rebellion became the main concern of the Qing emperors when dealing with the non-Chinese.

The Qing Dynasty implemented a differential incorporation policy not only toward the Pai Yao but also toward the Han people. In order to preserve their identity as a racial group they closed their homeland to Chinese immigrants and maintained North Manchuria as a hunting land outside the Chinese agricultural economy. They marked a boundary to check the Chinese immigrants' northward movement. On the whole the Manchus succeeded in checking the Chinese settlement down to the late nineteenth century(Fairbank 1958:80).

In addition to drawing this geographical boundary, the Manchus also tried to preserve themselves by maintaining their ethnic purity. For example, they banned intermarriage between Chinese and Manchus and fostered differences of custom between the two groups. The women were not supposed to have bound feet, Manchus were not supposed to engage in trade or labor(Ibid:81).

The most outstanding example indicating the differential incorporation policy of the Qing dynasty is their controlling of other non-Chinese groups within the

empire. Fairbank has made a brief description of the means and methods employed by the Qing dynasty(1978: 31-32):

> The first was military force, which held down the provinces of China and might be used on the frontiers or in expeditions beyond them. The second was the system of bureaucratic regulations(fa, 法) through which administrative control might be exercised over the non-Chinese aboriginal peoples(mainly in the south-west) through their headmen(t'u - ssu, 土司), much as over the Chinese people themselves. The third was rule-by-virtue, the normative or ideological influence-of-virtuous-example(te,德) [de] derived from a demonstration of proper conduct and the awe-inspiring sagehood of the son of Heaven. A variant on this was, particularly in the case of relations with Lhasa, the use of religious influence; the early Ching rulers had acted as chakravartin kings(patrons) supporting the Buddhist priesthood there (Ibid:31-32).

To control the Mongols, the Manchus continued the astute Ming Dynasty's divide and rule policy by keeping the Mongols divided and at peace. They appointed or confirmed the appointment of all Mongol chiefs and princes. The tribes were organized into leagues and

their boundaries fixed. Intratribal relations were kept under close scrutiny, and by patronizing the Lamaist church the Manchus also supported a counterweight to Mongolian tribal politics(Fairbank 1987:34-35). In dealing with Islam, the Qing dispensation in Kashgaria was superimposed upon the ruling chieftains, who were incorporated into the administrative hierarchy, confirmed in office, and given their special status and privileges. The Qing dynasty also accepted the operation of Islamic law as handled by the church. Moreover, they also maintained an uneasy control from a distance by maintaining Manchu garrisons and offering caravan trade with China (Ibid:35).

1. The Military Control

As mentioned in Chapter five, Lianyang Regiment (Lianyangying,連陽營), Sanjiang Brigade (Sanjiang-Xie,三協) and the Yao-appeasing Regiment (Suiyaoying,綏瑤營) were set up in the Pai Yao region to keep the Pai Yao people under control. As a means to maintain the mandate to rule, military control exercised by implementing law(fa,法) and power(wei,威) was not peculiar to the Pai Yao along.

Military control of China was a persistent policy of the Qing Dynasty towards the Han people. This can easily be seen in the difference between the establishments of "Green Battalion"(綠營) and "Banners" (旗). "Green Battalions" were the only purely Chinese

soldiers in the Qing Dynasty who were stationed in the provinces for local order. Yet side by side with these local forces, there were banner soldiers in Zhili(直隸), Shandong(山東), Shanxi(山西), Henan(河南), Jiangxi(江西), Zhejiang(浙江), Fujiang(福建), Guangdong(廣東), Hunan(湖南), Hubei(湖北), Sichuan(四川), Shanxi(陝西), Gansu(甘肅) and Xinjiang(新疆). The establishment of banner garrisons at strategic points was not for local protection, nor was it for external danger. As the Manchu emperor declared, it was for "suppression of local troubles". By "local troubles" they meant political uprisings against the Manchus. The garrisons, in fact, served as a check against the Chinese troops and the Chinese civil authorities(Hsieh 1925:64).

We should also note that although both Banner Troops and the Green Standard were soldiers, they received different statuses and renumeration. As noted by Ch'ien Mu, "soldier's pay and rations given to the Eight-Banner men were remarkedly higher than that given to the Green Standard soldiers" (Ch'ien 1982:127).

The Manchus had never intended to abandon the military force as a means of maintaining social order. The establishment of the Grand Council (junjichu 軍機處) reflects their intention.

The Grand Council was created for two reasons: the first is that it was a result of Emperor Yongzheng's (1723-35) need "for a small, tightly knit group of aides

to help draft edicts and to offer confidential advice on military and state affairs." The other reason is that by this device any important decision might then bypass the powerful princes thus "enhancing the emperor's power and efficaciousness" (Hsu 1975:59).

There were 145 grand councillors appointed during the Qing Dynasty. 74 of them were Manchus, 64 Han Chinese, 3 Chinese bannermen, and 6 Mongols.

Table 6

The Ethnic Composition
of the Grand Councillors

Manchus	74
Mongols	6
Chinese bannermen	3
Han Chinese	64
Total	145

(Source: Hsu 1975:61)

As to the distribution, Immanuel C. Y. Hsu (1975) has made the following comments:

> numerically, the distribution of appointments between Manchus and [Han] Chinese seemed quite equitable, and ideed it was a court device to pacify the [Han] Chinese. But the numbers hardly suggest equivalence of power. Power was in proportion to the closeness of the councillors' relationship with the emperor, who generally trusted the Manchus more than

> the [Han] Chinese, as indicated by the large majority of special and secret assignments entrusted to the Manchus grand councillors. Nonetheless, the number of [Han] Chinese in the Grand Council is indicative of the considerable opportunity afforded them for participation in the core of the central administration (Hsu 1975:61).

There are two points in Hsu's comment that deserve our attention. The first is that the number of Manchu and Han Chinese officials was deliberately made equal or approximately equal by the Emperors. I agree that this was a court device to pacify the Han Chinese. However, the more important thing is that the Manchu emperors tried to give the Han Chinese the impression that they had a "de jure status" in the political system of the Qing Dynasty.

The second point is that equal numbers did not mean the equivalence of power. The Manchu officials were generally trusted by the Empreors more than the Han Chinese officials. This observation is consistent with my study. For example, the two memorials that had decisive influence on the Pai Yao were put forward by two Manchu officials, Shi Lin (石琳) and Xi En (希恩). The former official was a Manchu bannerman who suggested a military control policy and the establishment of a battalion to keep the Pai Yao under severe surveillance. Xi En, an imperial clansman, was appointed to take

charge of the duty of Governor-general Li Hongbin (李鴻賓) after the outbreak of the Pai Yao revolt in 1832. It was he who actually implemented the policy of incorporating the Pai Yao into the administrative control of the Qing Dynasty.

The Grand Council at first handled only secret military reports and instructions, which were issued to the military and high officials in the provinces without the knowledge of the Grand Secretariat or Cabinet (Neige,內閣). Ch'ien Mu maintains that the Grand Counci (Junji chu, literally Military Plans Office) "obviously implies a regime under military control" and says, "this is an indubitable conclusion in view of the fact that the supreme imperial orders were all under the classification of `military plan'" (Ch'ien 1982:127).

Although both the Han people and the Pai Yao people were under the surveillance of Qing military force, it was the Pai Yao who came under a more severe scrutiny. On the one hand, there were three regiments intended to suppress any disorder caused by the Pai Yao. On the other hand, there were local militia and village guards standing by to deal with any emergency caused by the Pai Yao. In this sense, the Pai Yao were treated as another category different from the ordinary Han people. Despite some officials who mentioned that both were subjects of the Qing emperors and there was no difference between them, this was only a de jure

expression of their status. In de facto structure, neither of them were treated by the Qing Dynasty on equal terms. That the local militia and village guards were designed to guard against the Pai Yao reflects the consciousness of Han/Yao difference.

2. The Administrative Control

Maybe the most outstanding feature of the differential incorporation policy of the Qing Dynasty was its administrative control. In the Qing Dynasty, there was no differentiation of politics and administration in the Western sense. Both of them were inseparable in the China context. The extent to which the Han people were allowed to participate in the political structure indicated the differential treatment of the Han Chinese and the Yao people by the Manchus. The political structure in fact reflected the ethnic structure of the Manchus, the Han people and the Pai Yao.

The first obvious feature was that the Han people were allowed to join the central government through the examination system which was established by previous dynasties to absorb the elite of the society. The Manchu political structure showed that although the Manchus assumed the mandate of the Son of Heaven, they, however, had to rely on the Han elite for running the whole empire which comprised majority Han people and other non-Han people. As a tribal society, it was difficult

for the Manchus to rule China on the basis of their own tribal politics. The Manchu rulers then made a political compromise and created "a dyarchy of Manchus and Chinese to govern China". This Manchu-Han government was built on the foundation of the Ming government(Fairbank 1978:19; Michael 1965).

For examples, the Grand Secretariat(Cabinet), the Six Ministries(liu-bu,六部) and other elements of government and civil administration were built in imitation of the Ming Dynasty. The ethnic element in the civil administration was shown in the system of dual appointments, that is, both "Chinese and Manchus were placed in charge of important functions". The emperors employed a capable Chinese to do the administrative work while on the other hand used a loyal Manchu to check upon the Chinese official. The Chinese official was in fact placed in a position inferior to the Manchu official.

In the central government, especially the Grand Secretariat (Cabinet, Neige,內閣) and the Six Ministries, the Manchu officials outnumbered the Chinese officials. The ethnic composition of the Grand Secretaries provided by Zou Rong (鄒容), one of the most eminent revolutionary martyrs, is as follows (Ch'ien 1982:134):

> In the positions of Grand Secretary, Minister, and Vice-Minister, the Manchus and the [Han] Chinese are equal in number. Besides these

positions, in the Grand Secretariat, there are 6 Manchus and 4 Chinese Grand Secretaries (Hsueh-shih, 學士); 6 Manchu and Mongolian Readers (Shih-tu hsueh-shih, 侍讀學士) against 2 [Han] Chinese Readers; 12 Manchu and two [Han] Chinese Assistant Readers (Shih-tu, 侍讀); 94 Manchu and Mongolian Secretaries (Chung-shu, 中書) and only 30 [Han] Chinese (Ch'ien 1982:134).

The fact that ranks of minister and vice-minister were shared equally by the Han Chinese and the Manchus discloses the deliberate arrangement of personnel and the ethnic origin factor in determining the appointments of posts.

As to the Six Ministries, some figures also show how ethnic origin influenced the distribution of posts. According to Piero Corradini (1962), the constitutional history of the Manchu before the invasion of China can be divided into three stages: 1) the original feudal stage; 2) military administration based on the Banner system; and 3) civil administration based on the Chinese pattern. He distinguishes the establishment of Six Ministries, which was established in 1631, as "the first time the Manchu adopted Chinese names for their administrative institutions". Moreover, it was also the first time that "the pluri-national character of the Manchu State" had been recognized. Both the Mongol and Han Chinese were represented in the sechedule of civil

officials of the ministers. It is worth noting that at this time neither the Mongol, nor the Chinese Banner had yet been set up (Ibid:136-137).

The ethnic composition of the first Six Ministries given by Corradini (1962:138) is as follows:

Table 7.

The Ethnic Composition of the First Six Ministries

Ministry	Government Assistants	Mongol Assistants	Han Chinese Assistants
Personnel	1	1	1
Finance	2	1	1
Rites	2	1	1
War	2	1	1
Justice	2	1	2
Public Works	2	1	1

Ministry	Participants	Mongol Participants	Han Chinese Participants
Personnel	8	--	--
Finnance	8	--	--
Rites	8	--	--
War	8	--	--
Justice	8	--	--
Public Works	8	2	2

Ministry	Secretary	Han Chinese Secretary
Personnel	1	--
Finance	1	--
Rites	1	--
War	1	--
Justice	1	--
Public Works	1	2

(Source: Corradini 1962:138)

Note: 1. Assistant=Chengzheng (丞政)
2. Participant=Canzheng (參政)
3. Secretary=Qixinlang (祺心郎)

From the above figures we can note that both Mongol and Han Chinese, although a small number as compared with the Manchus, were rather well represented. In addition to this, the Han Chinese element was emphasized in the Ministries of Justice and Public Works. This phenomenon, as pointed out by Corradini (1962:138), is "a first yielding of the Manchus in front of the [Han] Chinese". The study of Corradini indicates that the Manchus, prior to their invasion of China, already recognized the ethnic situation they were going to face. It seems that the Manchus had the idea of incorporating members of various ethnic groups into a single political unit.

After the Manchus dominated China and established her empire in China proper, they still followed their early established policy of incorporating various ethnic elements into their political structure. According to Zou Rong's calculation, as quoted by Ch'ien Mu, the proportion of Manchu and the Han Chinese officials is as follows (Ch'ien 1982):

> In the Six Ministries, for the positions of Department Directors (Lang-chung郎中), Assistant Department Directors (Yuan-wai-lang員外郎), and Second Class Secretaries (Chung-shih,中書), the

Manchu quotas are 400--of which there are over 30 in the Ministry of Personnel, over 100 in the Ministry of Finance, over 30 in the Ministry of Rites, over 40 in the Ministry of War, over 70 in the Ministry of Justice, over 80 in the Ministry of Public Works, and there are only 162 Chinese officials in these ranks.

Every quarterly official directory lists only how many [Han] Chinese hold the positions of Department Directors, Assistant Department Directors, and Second Class Secretaries without mentioning how many vacancies of the same positions there are for the Manchus...

The quotas for the Manchu officials of the three categories in the Six Ministries mentioned above are three times more than those for the [Han] Chinese. The substantive posts on the establishments (shih-chue, 实缺) of the provincial prefectures and Circuits are generally held by officials from the Six Ministries. No wonder the Manchus monopolized most of the offices of Prefects and intendants in every provincial administraation (Ch'ien 1982:133-134).

The figures provided by Zou Rong show that the proportion of the Manchus and the Han Chinese is three to one in the high ranking positions. Ch'ien Mu critizes

the Qing Dynasty as a "tribal regime" and says the figure show clearly the Qing Dynasty was practising a kind of "discrimination policy" (Ibid:135). Although there were discriminatory inclinations in the policy, I do not think "discrimination" can best describe the Manchu's sophisticated manipulation of its policy. If we take figures in other central government organizations into consideration, it seems that the Manchus were trying hard to keep the Manchu-Han proportion as balanced as possible. Further considering the provincial administration will justify my idea.

The Qing Dynasty employed a system of dual appointments of Manchus and Han Chinese in the capital, while allowing the Han Chinese to dominate the local officialdom. Provincial administration came between these two poles--central and local, can be treated as a middle strata in the Qing bureaucracy. The personnel in this strata, the provincial governors-general and governors (Zongdu, 总督 and Xunfu 巡抚, or 督抚 Dufu collectively), are a very important intermediate group that may help us understand the nature of the Qing Dynasty's ethnic policy (Kessler 1969:489). Lawerence D. Kessler (1969) has made a detailed analysis on the ethnic composition of the provincial administration, which provided valuable insights for this study.

As noted by Kessler, the basic policy of the Qing Dynasty was "impartiality", that means "appointments of

governors-general and governors (and other posts as well) were to be made without regard to politico-ethnic affiliation" (Kessler 1969:492). This was best expressed in Emperor Yongzheng's (1723-1735) announcement which has been quoted by Kessler as follows:

> In employing men, I think of the good of the nation, and the welfare of the people. If a man be honest and just and sincere in his work I will employ him even if he is no intimate of mine. But if a man strives for private gain, is unlawful, or disrupts government, then I will dismiss him even if he is a close favorite. Therefore, I do not make a distinction between Manchus and [Han] Chinese, but maintain only the strictest impartiality toward all my subjects [italics mine] ... This is the way to assure everlasting peace and good government (Kessler 1969:493).

After checking the ethnic composition of the positions of governors-general and governors, Kessler concludes that "ethnic affiliation was no bar to the holding of power in high provincial posts". In other words, the appointments of officials were made in accordance with "the dictates of dynastic policy" (Ibid:494). He reached this conclusion because he noted that over the Qing Dynasty the positions of "dufu" were shared fairly equally by bannermen (Manchu, Mogol, and Han Chinese), and non-bannerman Han Chinese. The figures

of the distribution of appointments are as follows (Kessler 1969:498):

Table 8

The Ethnic Composition of the Dufu

	Dufu		Zongdu	
	No.	%	No.	%
Chinese bannermen	287	22.0	115	20.8
Manchus	342	26.3	187	33.7
Mongols	26	2.0	14	2.5
Bannermen(total)	655	50.3	316	57.0
Han Chinese	646	49.7	238	43.0
Total	1301	100.0	554	100.0

	Xunfu	
	No.	%
Chinese bannermen	252	22.4
Manchus	270	24.1
Mongols	21	1.9
Bannermen(total)	543	48.4
Han Chinese	579	51.6
Total[1]	1122	100.0

(Source: Kessler 1969:498)

1. Kessler's note:"The total number of du-fu (1301) in the table does not match the added totals of zong-du (1122) because 375 (or two-thirds) of the zong-du had previously served as xun-fu. Such officials serving in both posts during their careers were counted only once in calculating du-fu. I have included in my calculations all zong-du and xun-fu, even if they served for brief

periods only. Acting service, however, was not counted" (1969:496, n.42)

From the above figures we note that the bannermen held a majority of the Zongdu posts (57%), while Han Chinese held a slight majority of the Xunfu (51.6%). Kessler maintains that Chinese bannermen had played a unique role in the civil administration of the Qing Dynasty (e.g. 36% of Zongdu, 46% of Xunfu, or 44% of Dufu). The interesting point is that "Chinese bannermen were lumped together with Manchus and Mongols and designated not even as bannermen but as `Manchus'". He says, "Chinese bannermen were Chinese by ethnic standards but bannermen by political standards" and "their ethnic origins were forgotten but not their political status" (Kessler 1969:496). I agree that Chinese bannermen should deserve special attention but I do not think Kessler is correct in saying that their ethnic origins were forgotten. We should note Chinese bannermen were designated as "Manchus", which does not mean their ethnic origins were forgotten but means their ethnic origins were deliberately reassigned. In other words, their ethnic designations were changed in accordance with their political status. They enjoyed special status and received preferential treatment given by the emperors. Compared with the ordinary Han Chinese, they were not Chinese because they were treated as "Manchus" by the emperors.

In order to gain a more meanful picture of Manchu

personnel policy, Kessler divided the Qing Dynasty into five major phases: 1) period of conquest and consolidation, 1644-83; 2) period of stability, 1684-1735; 3) period of stagnation, 1736-95; 4) period of decline, 1796-1850; 5) period of collapse, 1850-1911. The ethnic composition in these five periods is as follows:

Table 9

Composition of Zongdu by major phases of the Qing Dynasty

		Han Chinese		Chinese Bannermen	
	Total new personnel	No.	%	No.	%
1644-1683	79	13	16.4	56	70.9
1684-1735	103	30	29.1	39	37.9
1736-1795	109	34	31.2	8	7.3
1796-1850	133	76	57.1	7	5.3
1851-1911	130	85	65.4	5	3.8
Qing(total)	554	238	43.0	115	20.8

		Manchus		Mongols
1644-1683	10	12.7	--	--
1684-1735	34	33.0	--	--
1736-1795	63	57.8	4	3.7
1796-1850	45	33.8	5	3.8
1851-1911	35	27.0	5	3.8
Qing(Total)	187	33.7	14	2.5

Table 10

Composition of Xunfu by major phases of the Qing Dynasty

		Han Chinese		Chinsese Bannermen	
	Total new personnel				
1644-1684	190	45	23.7	131	68.9
1684-1735	245	91	37.2	88	35.9
1736-1795	222	107	48.2	16	7.2
1796-1850	199	129	64.8	9	4.5
1851-1911	266	207	77.8	8	3.0
Qing(Total)	1122	579	51.6	252	22.4

	Manchus		Mongols	
	No.	%	No.	%
1644-1683	14	7.4	--	--
1684-1735	64	26.1	2	8
1736-1795	96	43.2	3	1.4
1796-1850	53	26.7	8	4.0
1851-1911	43	16.2	8	3.0
Qing (Total)	270	24.1	21	1.9

(Source: Kessler 1969:502)

In the governors-general category, Chinese bannermen were the majority group in the period of conquest (70.9%), no single group predominated in the period of stability, Manchus became the majority group during the period of stagnation (57.8%), and Han Chinese ranked as majority in the last two periods of decline and collapse. As to the governors category, the distribution was similar to that of governors-general, except that Manchus were not the dominant group in the third period (Ibid:503).

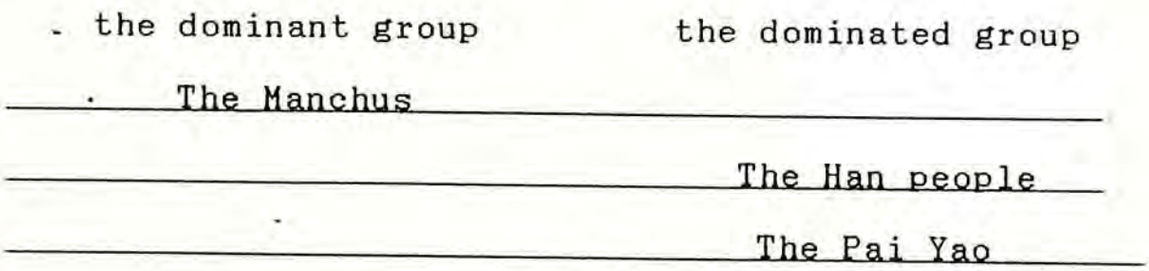
Another way to examine the Qing Dynasty's policy is in terms of the length of service. According to Kessler, the most favoured group was Chinese bannermen while Han Chinese were the least favoured (excluding Mongols).

In conclusion, Kessler points out that the Qing Dynasty's personnel policy was not a static arrangement. In the period of conquest and consolidation, Chinese bannermen had been entrusted with the provincial administration. After the pacification of the three feudatories (1681) and the conquest of Taiwan (1683), three significant shifts occurred. The first was the decline in the use of Chinese bannermen. The second occurred around the turn of the nineteenth century when the Han Chinese began to gain an increasing proportion of "dufu" posts. The third shift intensified the trend of the second shift in the post-Taiping period (Kessler 1969:510-511).

The other aspect in which the differential incorporation policy of the Qing dynasty was shown in the financial security. Apart from the finance obtained by way of salt and land taxes managed by the Board of Revenue(hu-bu,), the Manchu dynasty ran its own secret treasury. These separate funds were in the Imperial Household Department, which "managed imperial lands, fines and confiscations, tributes and special taxes, and monopolies of furs from the Northeast and

also ginseng". It is said the Department had held quiet a large flow of funds that 'the regular Chinese tax administrators never saw'(Fairbank 1987:21). What interests us is that in the political and administrative structure there appeared an ethnic structure that is consistent with M.G. Smith's idea of structural pluralism and differential incorporation.

Compared with the Pai Yao, the Han Chinese had a greater degree of freedom and rights to participate in the political system. The Pai Yao were denied any political right or mobilization. For example, it was the Han Chinese magistrates who took charge for of the Yao affairs at the county level. The Pai Yao did not have their own officials to take charge of their own affairs. In other words, they were not admitted to the political structure. They could only submit to the Han magistrates who acted on behalf of the state and the emperors. In terms of access to political power, there existed an ethnic hierarchy of the Manchus, the Han people and the Pai Yao which can be shown in the diagram as follows:



The appointments of Yaozhang, Yaolian and the office in charge of Yao affairs can be said to be the

effort of the Qing state to "extend regular bureaucratic governance into previously autonomous regions" (Fairbank 1978:133). The extension of regular bureaucratic governance was a result of the differential incorporation carried out by the Qing dynasty to secure its political control of its subjects. The other measures, such as the bing and hu organizations, were part of this policy. Although the Qing Dynasty was keen to incorporate the Pai Yao into its political structure, it was not eager to alter the original social and political structure of the Pai Yao. They were rather imposing another structure upon the original one and thus created a dual structure. We note that the Pai Yao's "Yao seniors system" had not been abolished by the Qing government. The selection of Yaozhang and Yaolian was based on their traditional practice and nominated by the Pai Yao themselves. The Yaozhangs were responsible for their members' action. Through the appointments up of Yaozhang the Qing government's control penetrated into the village level. The Yaozhang worked as a middleman between the Pai Yao and the officials. His authority was granted by the Qing government not by the general public of the Pai Yao.

The other measures that were extensions of the Qing government's regular bureaucratic governance were the fixing of door-tablet, bing and hu organizations. The door-tablet and the bing organization were rather

similar to the Baojia system, both were established as an institution of control.

Baojia(保甲) was a system of rural control and mutual responsibility inherited from the Song Dynasty. It was a Legalist device to entangle all households in the affairs of their neighbours and induce mutual spying and informing in the interests of law and order. The Baojia system was organized so as to keep it out of the hand of gentry leaders and to act across natural village lines, so that local influence would remain fragmented and the magistrate who appointed the heads of the Baojia organization could remain his own separate structure of control (Fairbank 1978:29).

In other words, institution of rural control in the Han region was extended to the Pai Yao region with an alternative form and under different name. The rationale of this control institution was to insure political stability and thus perpetuate the Qing regime. As pointed out by Kung-Chuan Hsiao (1974:148), because the Manchus "could not have confidence in their subjects or count on their loyalty, they sought to render the latter submissive and subservient by a variety of devices calculated to immunize than against all thought and action that might prove detrimental to imperial security. The fact that the Ch'ing rulers were conquerors from an alien ethnic group made this necessity all the more obvious and urgent' (Hsiao 1974:148). Of course, this measure was not an invention

of the Qing Dynasty. It was only a reapplication of the previous dynasty's practices.

Because of the physical environment, poor means of communication and transportations, it was impossible for the administrative and military arms to reach every hamlet or village. Therefore, to extend control to the Yao region, it was necessary for the Qing government to employ what might be described as a "subadministrative system of local apparatus". The Qing dynasty, benefiting from the experience of preceding dynasties, set up such a system with a variety of component devices, each designed to perform a certain function. Under the bing and Yaolian, the life of the Pai Yao was similar to those Han people under the Bao-jia system, that is, "every important aspect of rural life was thus theoretically brought under the surveillance and direction of the government" (Ibid:149).

Through the discussion of administrative control we note that the Han people and the Pai Yao were incorporated in the Qing political structure differentially. Although both were under a system of control, the systems were nevertheless different in accordance with their social structure.

3. EDUCATION

As syggested in Chapter 5, the Qing government was not keen to provide education programs for the Pai Yao

and not eager to assimilate the Pai Yao. There were institutional reasons behind the Qing government's relutance. In traditional China, besides its moral purpose, education was the only way leading to the civil examination which was one of the major channels for social mobility. The other channel, as noted by Ping-ti Ho, was wealth, which was becoming increasingly important since 1451, especially after 1851 (Ho 1975:12).

Fairbank once estimated that "the examination system took a man over a dozen hurdles in the space of twenty or thirty years" (Fairbank 1987:27). He guessed, "a man who became a licentiate(shen-yuan,生員) at age twenty-four might normally expect to pass the provincial examination and become a 'recommended man' (chu-jen,舉人) at age thirty-one and pass the metropolitan examination to become a 'presented scholar' (chin-shih,進士) about age thirty-five, if he got that far" (Fairbank 1978:12). As education had to get involved with such great effort and length of time, no need to mention the wealth involved, it was no wonder that "the examination system was inevitably biased in favor of those families that had enough means to educate their sons and also a family tradition of scholarship to spur them on" (Fairbank 1987:31).

The Pai Yao, most of whom were more poor than the Han people, were thus unable to afford education for their children in such a "labyrinthine system". As this

elitist classical education for the civil examination dominated the whole field of education, it was unfortunate for the common Han people, let alone the Pai Yao. Although the examination system was later honeycombed by corrupt practice and sale of offices and titles, most of the Pai Yao were still unable to afford to buy a title.

4. TAXATION

Although tax was paid by the Pai Yao as a symbol of submission only and with a rather low rate(we cannot obtain an exact figure due to the inadequacy of information), it still created a chance for the Han officials to exploit the Pai Yao. The corruption and extortion of the Han officials may be explained in terms of financial arrangement in the local government. Fairbank has made a brief description as follows:

> another feature of local government was that it did not have a separate budget but was expected to operate mainly on customary fees secured from the locality and thus pay its own way. Corruption was thus built into it (at least in the Modern Western sense of the term) by the custom of tax farming. Tax revenue were expected by the government in the amount of pre-set quotas. The yamen clerks and runners both lived off their customary fees and the magistrate off his take of the local revenues,

from which he both maintained his administration and made his quotas payments. The Ch'ing problem was therefore not to avoid irregular exactions but rather to avoid excessive ones (Fairbank 1978:21).

C. DISCUSSION

The Pai Yao policy reflects the relations between the Manchus, the Han people and the Pai Yao. I am of the opinion that M.G. Smith's concepts, especially the idea of differential incorporation, can help us understand the situation of the Qing Dynasty.

China during the Qing Dynasty may, according to Smith's definition, be classified as a society of structural pluralism. It is obvious that the Manchus, the Han people and the Pai Yao did not share a single set of institutions, or a common system of basic or complusory institutions. That means they had different social structures, ideational systems and action patterns. If we take the other non-Han ethnic groups in the empire into consideration, we see that "groups practicing differing institutional systems live side by side under a common government" (Smith 1965:80). As the common government was dominated by the Manchus, the Qing dynasty, by Smith's definition, also performed the extreme expression of pluralism--plural society--the domination of a culturally distinct demographic

minority.

Structural pluralism consists in the differential incorporation of collectivities within a given society, I will look into the condition of differential policy carried out in relation to the Han people and the Pai Yao.

The Han people and the Pai Yao were incorporated segmentally as units of unequal status within the public domain or political unit under the domination of the Manchus. The Han people, due to their vast population, advanced culture and the long established and sophisticated bureaucratic system, forced the Manchus to absorb elite of the Han people into the political structure. The Pai Yao were only a minority that would not constitute an immediate threat to the stability of the Dynasty. They were then denied the access to the political structure as enjoyed by the Han people. Even worse than that, they were brought under the administration of the Han officials. The Pai Yao occupied a political status inferior to the Han people, or more precisely, they did not enjoy any political status. The Yaozhang and Yaolian could only be treated as representatives of the Pai Yao who acted as middlemen between the officials and the Pai Yao. They did not have any say in decisions regarding the Pai Yao.

The Manchus, the Han people and the Pai Yao thus constituted a series of collectivities which was ordered unequally as superior and inferior by their differential

access to the public domain and resources. The Pai Yao and the Han people as the subjugated population were further divided into two exclusive segments. They were incorporated differentially into the society and also in an order of superior and inferior.

Although both the Han people and the Pai Yao were under the rigorous control of the Manchus, it was the Pai Yao who were under the more severe control as mentioned before. Smith maintains that the autonomous organization of the conquered or a subject category would be eliminated, suppressed or proscribed by the conqueror. This was not true in the Qing dynasty.

Although the Pai Yao were a subject category under the rigorous control of the Qing government, they had not been deprived of their autonomous organization, contrary to what Smith has mentioned. The Yaozhangs and Yaolians appointed by the Qing government might have functioned as an imposed structure aimed at challenging the Pai Yao's traditional authority--the Yao Seniors System. Due to the inadequacy of information, I am not sure whether this dual authority structure had created a sense of disagreement among the Pai Yao themselves. But it is highly likely that the dual authority structure might divide the Pai Yao and reduce the probability of action against the Qing government.

Moreover, the differential incorporation of the Pai Yao was not formal and explicit. It prevailed

substantively despite the de jure statement pronounced by some officials. They were simply denied the political rights by the Qing government's uneagerness to provide education opportunity. It seems that the Qing government was keen to maintain the Pai Yao as a segregated social category rather than to assimilate them with the Han people.

Smith also mentioned that the dominant section in a society which carried out differential incorporation would seek to preserve its current control by promoting further institutional and structural differentiations in other spheres. However, the Qing dyansty had not created any institutional differences to preserve the differential incorporation of the Pai Yao. They simply employed the historical relation between the Han people and the Pai Yao to incorporate them into the administrative system. The novel measure was only bringing the Pai Yao under the administration of the Han officials. The traditional interaction patterns in other spheres such as economy, education and residential segregation were still maintained.

Therefore, the differential incorporation was deliberately achieved by maintaining the traditional Han-Yao cleavage. The most obvious example can be seen in Xi En's decision about the sale of land and field. Xi En noted that the total area of the Yao's field was reducing because the Yao people usually used their own field as mortgage to guarantee money borrowed from the

Han people. He ordered that the Yao field and hill could only be sold to the Yao people (Li & Fang 1987). This measure could in one hand protect the Yao people but also on the other hand prohibit the Yao people from obtaining land and field from the Han people. I would consider this measure as a means to maintain ethnic segregation.

We have already noted that the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese were incorporated into the political structure of the Qing Dynasty. Although we have demonstrated the Qing Dynasty actually carried out a policy of differential incorporation, known as discrimination policy by Chinese historians, de jure status or rights were still granted to the Han Chinese. Therefore, during the Qing Dynasty we saw a discrepancy between de jure rights and de facto conditions. The de jure rights were best expressed in slogans used by the Han officials or the emperors. The most often heard were "Minyao yili" (lit., the Yao and the Han Chinese are given the same consideration) and "Man Han yijia" (lit., Manchus and the Han Chinese are all of the same family). No matter how much they maintained that there was no distinction between Han and Yao or between Manchus and Han, the actual condition shows ethnic distinctions did exist.

In discussing the problem of equality, T.H. Marshall has defined three kinds of basic rights and corresponding social institutions that may help us

understand the situation of Han Chinese and the Pai Yao. The first kind is Civil Rights, such as "liberty of person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice". The second kind is Political Rights, such as "the franchise and the right of access to public offices". The third one is Social Rights, ranging from "the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards in the society" (van Amersfoort 1978:220); cf. Marshall 1969:71-73). These rights are expressed respectively in the courts, the various representative bodies, the social services and the schools (van Amersfoort 1978:200). Except for the civil rights, which was a concept not known in the eighteenth and nineteenth century China, the social rights and political rights are very useful for us to understand the Qing Dynasty's differential incorporation policy.

1. The Conditions of the Han Chinese

By political rights, I mean "the right of access to public offices" only. It is obvious that the Han Chinese were allowed to participate in the political system and be appointed to public offices. As noted before, in central government there was a structure of what sinologists called "dynarchy" or "synarchy" (Fairbank 1957:204-231); in provincial administration we

saw a balance of the Han Chinese and the Manchu appointments, while in local administration the Han Chinese officials dominated. These facts reflect that the Han Chinese were never denied the political rights. They enjoyed a de jure status in the political structure. In this respect, we may say they were incorporated into the political structure on equal terms with the Manchus and Mongols. Therefore Kessler is correct in saying "ethnic affiliation was no bar to the holding of power in high provincial posts" (Kessler 1969:494). This situation indicates the Manchus and the Han Chinese were incorporated as segments that enjoyed similar or equivalent status and rights. In other words, this is the equivalent or segmental incorporation which Smith refers to.

However, this numerical distribution was only a de jure structure of equivalent incorporation. Under its aegis there existed a de facto structure of differential incorporation. Although the Han Chinese were not denied the right of access to power or to hold power, this did not mean they could exercise their power as the Manchus did. As noted by Immanuel Hsu, power was in proportion to the closeness of the officials's relationship with the emperors. The second aspect that reflects the differential measure is shown in the qualification required for appointments. As observed by Zou Rong:

> according to the regulations, a [Han] Chinese must be a graduate from the Hanlin Academy to

> qualify for ministerial appointments, whereas the Manchus, regardless of his qualifications or training, can obtain civil and military positions as high as Grand Secretaries and Generals. This discrimination is very significant (Ch'ien 1982:136).

The other aspect is shown in the treatment received by the bannermen of different ethnic origins. Bannermen were a type of nobility in the Qing system (Hsu 1975:56-57). They were further divided into three categories: Manchu, Mongol and Chinese. Although the Chinese bannnermen were designated as "Manchus" as mentioned by Kessler, their ethnic origins had not been forgotten. The bannermen received their preferential treatment in the form of annual pensions, land for cattle-raising, and allotments of rice and cloth (Ibid). However, it was usually the Manchu bannermen who received the most favorable treatment. Immanuel Hsu says,

> A Manchu bannerman, for instance, might receive 50 mou (mou=1/6 acre), while a Mongol would get 35 mou and a Chinese [bannerman] only 25 mou (Hsu 1975:57).

These examples show that there was a discrepancy or disjunction between de jure rights and the de facto conditions.

By definition, the Han Chinese enjoyed their

social rights thoroughly. For example, they had the right to "a modicum of economic welfare and security". There were no restrictions of economic activities due to their ethnic origin. They also enjoyed the right to "share to the full in the social heritage". Confucianism, religious beliefs, educational institutions and even political structure almost remained the same as in the Ming Dynasty. They were permitted to retain their ways of life. The Han Chinese in the Qing Dynasty did enjoy many social rights. Neverhteless, there were also restrictions imposed on them, that is, there were restrictions based on the criterion of ethnic origin.

The most salient example was the so called "forbidden zone" of the Han Chinese. The Han Chinese were forbidden to enter or settle down in these regions. There were four "four forbidden zones" during the Qing Dynasty. The first zone was the "Three Eastern Provinces"--Jilin (吉林), Liaoning (遼宁) and Heilongjiang (黑龙江). These provinces were regarded by the Manchus as their homeland. The Han Chinese were not allowed to enter the region until the Quangxu Reign (1875-1908) when the inhabitants of the Hebei and Shandong provinces were permitted to emigrate into the area. The second zone was the island of Taiwan. As rebellions were constantly breaking out in the island, the Qing Dynasty declared the region a forbidden zone so that the inhabitants in Fujian province might be prevented from emigrating to

the island. The third zone was Cbaha and Suiyuan provinces, a region dominated by the Mongols. No Chinese were allowed to cultivate land there until the Guangxu Reign. The fourth zone was Xinjiang province. This area was reserved by the Manchus for future settlement of their own tribemen. Only after the suppression of Moslem Uprisings in 1864-78 by Chinese official Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠) was this area reopened to the Han Chinese (Ch'ien 1982:133-134).

The intention of the Qing Dynasty in defining forbidden zones was to keep the other ethnic groups at a distance from the Han Chinese. These ethnic groups were allowed to maintain their ways of life, customs, institution and religion. No assimilation was enforced in these areas. In this respect, the Qing Dynasty was practicing a cultural policy which D. G. Baker (1978) calls "polyculturalism". By "polyculturalism" he refers to the situation where "the dominant group accepts diversity as a principle or acknowledges its existence because it has insufficient power to eliminate other cultural forms" (Baker 1978:321). The Manchus intended to maintain separateness between various ethnic groups but also "balanced the recognition of separateness with the ultimate aim of uniformity" (Svensson 1978:107). The uniformity was not in terms of cultural assimilation but in terms of the incorporation of the representatives of various ethnic groups within a single political

structure. This political uniformity was best shown in the establishment of a special office, Lifan Yuan (lit., the Court of Colonial Affairs). This office was originally set up to deal with the management of the Mongols. As the Qing domain expanded, the office then also took over the relations with Tibet, Xinjiang, and Russia as well. No Han Chinese was ever appointed in this office and it was under the control of Mongols and Manchus only (Hsu 1975:67).

From the above discussion we may see that the Han Chinese were incorporated into the Qing Dynasty in the mode of equivalent or segmental incorporation and also in the mode of differential incorporation.

2. The Conditions of the Pai Yao

Turning to the Pai Yao, we can see that the situation was rather ambiguous. Regarding political rights, it was obvious that they had been denied the right of access to public offices. No Pai Yao had ever been appointed public officer. There was however no overt statement or regulation restricting the Pai Yao from taking appointments or participating in the political structure. Emperor Yongzheng (1723-35) had announced that the Han Chinese should enjoy equivalent status and opportunity to those of the Manchus. No such kind of statement had ever been addressed to the Pai Yao. Taking these two conditions into consideration, I am of the opinion that the Pai Yao were differentially

incorporated and the de jure structure coincided with the de facto condition.

In view of their position in the political structure, the Pai Yao were under the structural dominance of the Han Chinese and the Manchus even though it was the Chinese that they came into contact with frequently. Structural dominance means a group, through the control fo political, economic and social structures, "makes the allocative decision that determine the distribution of power, privilege and resources within society" (Baker 1978:321). D. G. Baker (1978) has distinguished four different ways by which a dominant group may incorporate subordinate groups within political structures:

> In the first two forms, the subordinate groups has no direct participation. Under the first form, characterized by slavery or a reserve system, the dominant group has complete control and decides what is best for the subordinate group. In the second form there is a type of indirect representation, i.e.. the subordinate group may: (a) through its own leadership make recommendations or requests to the government departments (e.g., native or indigenous affairs) that control them; (b) through some type of council that represents them make representations to the dominant

group government; or (c) select not their own but rather members of the superordinate group to 'represent' them within the dominant group structures.

Under the other two forms, subordinates are more directly incorporated within the political structure, but always in such a manner that they have little or no power. Under the first form, the subordinate group is entitled to participate within the political structure, but (a) requirements for the franchise (education, financial, etc.) are so restrictive that few can vote or (b) the electoral system is so manipulated (i.e., through gerry-mandering) that few can be elected to political office. Under the second form, the subordinate group may be fully represented, but its numbers are so small that it can elect few members. Those elected are virtually powerless to prevent legislative enactments that impinge on the group's rights or opportunities. However, since the group is part of the system, the decisions reached are considered legitimate by the dominant group (Baker 1978:323).

Obviously, the Pai Yao were incorporated in a type of indirect representation. Their recommendations or requests were presented to the office through Yaozhang

and Yaolian. However, there was no guarantee that their requests would be considered. Any decision regarding the Pai Yao was made by the official in charge. Baker's classification cannot apply to the Han Chinese. The Han Chinese were incorporated directly into the political structure but they were also able to effect power as they were part of the dominant group.

The difference of status between the Han Chinese and the Pai Yao in the Qing political structure may be explained in terms of the "power resources" that both groups possessed. According to Blalock (1976), subordinate groups may possess two possible types of power resources; pressure resources and competitive resources. Pressure resources refer to "a group's ability to employ such disruptive tactics as strikes, boycotts, violence or even warfare for forcing changes on the dominant group", while competitive resources refer to "labour or skills needed by the dominant group" (Baker 1978:318).

It is indubitable that the Han Chinese possessed enormous pressure resources and competitive resources that could threaten the rule of the Manchus. The pressure resources expressed in the Southern Ming Dynasty, the three Feudatories and other secret societies had been a long standing threat to the Manchus. As to the competitive resources, Han Chinese technology and bureaucratic skills were required by the

Manchus to run such a large agrarian-bureaucratic society as China. In view of the reality, the Manchus had no other choice but to absorb the Han Chinese into their political structure. Compared with the Chinese, the Pai Yao did not possess the competitive resources and they could only exert limited influence with their pressure resources by way of riot. If is for this reason they could not occupy a significant position in the Qing political structure.

Politically, the Pai Yao were incorporated into the political structure in an inferior position to the Han Chinese who in some respects shared an equal footing while in other respect were inferior to the Manchus. In other words, both segmental and differential modes incorporation were applied politically to the Han Chinese and the Manchus. There was only one mode--differential incorporation--between the Yan-Han and Yao-Manchus. When discussing the social rights, we can note that the situation faced by the Pai Yao was different from that of politics.

We may say the social entitlements of the Pai Yao were to a large extent similar to those of the Han Chinese. The principle of impartiality functioned in this sphere. The following examples can show this situation.

Firstly, they were entitled to receive education provided by the local officials. According to Li Laizhang, they were even eligible to be selected to

study in the academy provided they had acquired the necessary knowledge. In van Amersfoort's words, they had the right to live the life of civilized being according to the standards in the society (1978:200).

Secondly, they were entitled to be protected by the law. As mentioned in Xi En's memorial (Li & Fang 1987:37), the Yao were allowed to establish their own markets in their regions to carry on exchange activities. They were entitled to be treated fairly under jurisdiction. Petty officials were forbidden to exploit the Pai Yao. In order to avoid the possible extortion, the Pai Yao were allowed to deliver tax funds direct to the office.

Thirdly, the Pai Yao were also entitled to economic welfare and security. They were allowed to borrow cereals from the public granaries to pass their difficult time every year. Xi En suggested that the lands of the Pai Yao should be sold to the Pai Yao only. This was in part a measure to protect the Pai Yao.

In view of these entitlements, we see the Pai Yao were able to enjoy their social rights. In this respect the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese were incorporated on equal terms. The Pai Yao were incorporated differentially the in political sphere but were equally incorporated with the Han Chinese in the social sphere.

In sum, from the above description we note that both differential and segmental incorporation were

employed in the process of incorporating the Han Chinese and the Yao into the Qing state. The Qing dynasty, in accordance with Smith's definition, was a complex plurality in which differential and segmental incorporation prevailed simultaneously (Smith 1984:158).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters, I have described the Qing dynasty's policy towards the Pai Yao and also made a brief comparison between the conditions of Han Chinese and the Pai Yao in the process of incorporation. A general conclusion can thus be reached at this stage. My conclusion will deal with two aspects which have been outlined during the course of this paper.

A. THE PRICNIPLE OF THE PAI YAO POLICY

As I mentioned before, the Pai Yao policy shows that the Qing Dynasty was keen to incorporate the Pai Yao into its political structure but on the other hand was not eager to assimilate the Pai Yao into Han Chinese society or civilization. In other words, the policy aimed to incorporate the Pai Yao into the Qing polity rather than to assimilate the Pai Yao the Han Chinese. This conclusion is consistent with the results reached by other scholars.

For example, J.T. Dreyer (1976) in her brief discussion of the Qing Dynasty's policy towards the ethnic groups says that the Qing Dynasty employed "a full range of coercive and persuasive methods" to control the "barbarian population". The coercive methods included direct military suppression and the military

agricultural colony system. The persuasive methods included the tribute system proper, native official system(tusi, 土司), and a system of relations between the ethnic group areas and the Qing court(Dreyer 1976:9-10). With regard to the aim of the policy, she made the following comment(Ibid:12-13):

> In sum, the goal of Ch'ing, and of other dynasties', policy toward ethnic minorities was a pluralistic form of integration that aimed at little more than control. Abstention from aggression and a vague commitment of loyalty to the emperor and the Confucian values he embodied were sufficient to attain this level of integration. Traditional customs, languages, and governing systems were not interfered with so long as they did not pose a threat to the Chinese state....
>
> Absorption of Han Chinese cultures and values did occur and minority areas did come under the regular Chinese administrative system, but this was more a by-product of Han emigration than the result of any conscious effort at assimilation (Dreyer 1976:12-13).

My study shows that the Qing Dynasty intended to control the Pai Yao and included the Pai Yao under the regular administrative system. Assimilation, however, was part of the policy although not strongly emphasized.

The problem of incorporation and assimilation has

also been noted by S. Naquin and E.S. Rawski in their book (1987:17)) describing the Qing society in the eighteenth century. In describing the Qing emperor's policy toward the non-Han Chinese, they made the following observation:

> Their policies aimed at the somewhat contradictory goals of, on the one hand, integrating minorities into the polity and , on the other, protecting them from Han civilization....
>
> The non-Han people who became part of the Qing empire--not just in name but also in fact--included numerous hill and mountain tribes of south and southwest China (the Miao, Yao, Lolo, and many other smaller groups) as well as the Tibetans, Uighurs, Muslims, Mongols, and Manchus of the far west, north, and northeast. In the south and west, the Qing relied initially on the tusi (tribal headman) system, a traditional institution that allowed considerable autonomy for minority communities under the leadership of local chieftains whose power was simply confirmed by the throne. As migration into minority areas proceeded, however, the Yongzheng emperor began to convert the tusi territories into regular administrative units and to bureaucratize the

positions of the remaining headmen. The state also forced many communities to accept Chinese colonialist, and it promoted sinicization by constructing schools and temples (Naquin & Rawski 1987:13).

The contradictory goals, as mentioned by Naquin and Rawski, were actually dealing with two different kinds of relations. We may borrow C.H. Enloe's idea of "ethnic conflict management formula"(Enloe 1978) to analyse these contradictory goals. Ethnic conflict management formula is part of a state-building formula and deals with inter-ethnic relations and ethnic-state relations. To Enloe, state-building is a process "by which the apparatus of governance is made 1) more formally autonomous, differentiated from non-governmental organizations, 2) more centralized, 3) more internally coordinated, and 4) more able to penetrate various geographic and functional sectors of society" (Ibid:336).

In light of this, the Qing Dynasty's Pai Yao policy can be treated as part of a state-building process. The main aim of the Pai Yao policy was to incorporate the Pai Yao into the Qing polity. From the establishment of the Yao-managing office to the selection of Yaozhang and Yaolian, all these reflect the extension of the regular administrative system into the Pai Yao region, or, in other words, bureaucratization of part of the social organization of the Pai Yao society.

This is a kind of state bureaucratic penetration and the Pai Yao were put under administrative control through such penetration. That means the Pai Yao were incorporated into the polity through the mode of differential incorporation while at the same time, the Qing Dynasty accomplished the state-building process by way of bureaucratic expansion. The governance was thus more centralized and controlled

According to Enloe, the most familiar ethnic conflict management formula are: divide and rule, displacement, internal colonialism, federalism, and assimilation. These formulas, however, fail to describe the ethnic situation during the Qing Dynasty. At the level of ethnic-state relations, as we have seen, the main theme was incorporation of the Pai Yao into the polity. As to the inter-ethnic relations, the Qing Dynasty was practicing a policy of ethnic separation. The Qing Dynasty tried to preserve each ethnic group's own distinction and was therefore reluctant to carry out conscious assimilation as shown in our study. These two levels of relations and goals thus created a paradox. Both elements of uniformity and separateness were included in the same ethnic policy. Politically, the Manchus tried to keep all ethnic groups under a single political entity but they also maintained a system of ethnic separateness which meant tolerance of diversity. The policy of ethnic separateness might be a result of

political considerations. Maintaining ethnic boundaries could on the one hand ensure the Manchu's holding of privilege and power, and on the other hand, create an enduring ethnic confrontation between the Han Chinese and non-Han people. The confrontation might thus divert the attention from the Manchu's alien rule to the matter of ethnic conflict and the Manchus could further legitimize their rule by quelling the revolting groups.

B. TRENDS WITHIN THE QING's PAI YAO POLICY

In studying the Qing Dynasty's policy towards the Pai Yao, there is a phenomenon that deserves our attention. That is, the different measures implemented by the Han officials and the Manchu officials reflect the different inclinations of the Han and the Manchu officials respectively.

The Manchu officials' measures can be seen in the two memorials submitted by Shi Lin and Xi En in 1703 and 1832 respectively. There are no complete documents recording the Han officials' measures except the book, Liannan bapai fengtu ji (lit., Notes on Custom of the Bapai in Liannan), written by Li Laizhang (1709). Comparing the measures mentioned in Li's book and the two memorials, we may note a difference between the measures.

We can simply classify Shi Lin and Xi En's measures into the following categories: 1) strengthening military control; 2) disciplining the armies and

officials; 3) controlling the local officials' runners; 4) punishing Han villains; 5) forbidding the sale and purchase of Pai Yao's lands to the Han Chinese; 6) household registration and the appointments of Yaozhang and Yaolian. These measures were either intended to reduce conflict between the Pai Yao and the Han Chinese or conflict between local officials and the Pai Yao. Besides the foregoing measures, Li specially emphasized the education work carried out by him. He burnt Pai Yao religious books, lecturing on the content of the Sacred Edicts and establishing an acadamy. In his book we can see he put much effort into educating the Pai Yao. He wanted the Pai Yao to accept the moral value of Confucianism and change the Pai Yao customs. Therefore, compared with the two Manchu officials' memorials, we may say that Li's assimilation inclination was stronger than the Manchu officials. The Manchu officials did not even mention "civilizing" or educating the Pai Yao.

This difference between the Manchu and the Han officials may lead us to believe that there was the probability that the Manchu officials were inclined to maintain ethnic distinction while Han officials were inclined to assimilate the Pai Yao. We may use F. Svensson's concept of "policy space" to distinguish the difference between the Han and the Manchu officials measures. By "policy space" Svensson refers to "a spatial, temporal, and even intellectual insulation

between the objective of policy (such as assimilation of minority peoples) and the subjects of policy"(Svensson 1978:101). In view of policy space, two distinct styles can thus be identified:

> `Open' policy is one which has policy space built into it--an orientation both toward gradualism and toward transitional mechanisms which make an evolutionary strategy functional. It provides for feedback by not stressing immediate, irreversible change. `Closed' policy is, of course, the opposite; it is policy with a peremptory style, requiring significant change over a relatively brief period. When this change fundamentally alters basic cultural institutions and legal statuses, it can even be said to be revolutionary', a break with, rather than an evolution from, the past. It is closed in the sense that it does not allow either time or transitional institutions to smooth its implementation, and therefore often precludes feedback before its consequences have become almost irreversible (Svensson 1978:109-110).

The main characteristic of open policy is that it does not require a sudden change and allows a greater tolerance of subjects of the policy to continue their own culture. Conversely, the closed policy requires a

"significant change over a relatively brief period". The difference between the Manchu and Han officials lies in the degree of open and closed elements included in their measures. It seems to me that the Manchu officials had a greater tolerance of Pai Yao culture than the Han officials. The Manchu officials' emphasis on administrative control was contrary to the Han officials' emphasis on education. Of course, the judgement of open and closed is relative because most policies will contain both elements of openness and closure, and the variation is of degree only(Ibid:110).

In conclusion, the Han officials included less policy space in their measures when dealing with the Pai Yao and had greater intention of assimilation. The Manchus, on the contrary, included a greater policy space in their measures and allowed the Pai Yao to maintain their differences from the Han Chinese. However, as this observation is based on limited materials, I do not intend or think it is wise to say it was a general phenomenon in the Qing Dynasty. Some Han officials might have hold a more firm standing or favoured a more iron policy. We need further research to study this problem.

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